Valery Styrkul

A documentary sketch

Kiev 1987 Dnipro publishers

THE LACKEYS

Canon
THE
Ukrainian Weekly
Jurors: Prosecution lacks witness to crimes
in case against John Demjanjuk

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Kiev
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1987

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Валерій Стиркул

ПРИСЛУЖНИКИ
ДОКУМЕНТАЛЬНИЙ НАРИС

Translated from the Ukrainian
by Victor Kotolupov

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Seventy years ago
the Soviet Socialist State
came into being
and has been developing
and growing stronger
ever since.

Foreign interventionists strived
to strangle it with a blockade
and armed intervention,
to impair it with different
methods of cold
and psychological warfare.

Behind the backs
of those who have
instigated interventions,
subversive actions
and "crusades against socialism"
swarm a crowd of lackeys
of all kinds and ranks — ranging
from state officials
to criminal offenders under

the guardianship of subversive
services in the countries
of their present residence.

This book is based
on documentary materials
and relates the story
of precisely this breed
of lackeys.

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Lackeys... The story is not only about small fry assigned exclusively to carry out orders. Most lackeys are bosses of their own lackeys.

Let us recall how Taras Shevchenko describes the hierarchy of masters, submasters and inferior semimasters.

I watch: the tsar comes close
To him who is of highest rank
And whops him on the nose!...
Poor fellow, he just licked his lips
And poked right in the pot
The next in line!... Then that one gave
A smaller ace a clout;
That one punched still a smaller fish,
And he — still smaller fry,
Until the smallest at the end
Got theirs and opened wide
The palace gates, and poured outside
Into the city streets
To put the boots to common folks...

Small fry from the Ukrainian bourgeois-nationalist organizations abroad are exactly these kinds of pawns in the hands of superior bosses. The nationalist bosses are fond of talking profusely about their independence even though this does not prevent them from being obedient executors of the will of reactionary forces in Western capitalist countries. Actual masters in the imperialist world are industrial and financial magnates who at their own discretion put "their own people" into government and nongovernment organizations. Their sway, after all, determines the character of relationships between the subordinates who carry out their orders.

At the same time, the leaders of organizations found in the different ranks do all they can to prove that they are acting on their own initiative relying on "their own force" alone, and that they are the only leaders and rulers of inferior executors' destinies.

As to how these ideas are hammered into people's heads, is aptly described in the aforementioned excerpt from Taras Shevchenko's *The Dream.*

Sometimes nationalist demagogues succeed in convincing individual Ukrainians living abroad that they pursue an independent policy, but the truth never fails to surface.

State and political figures of high standing in Western countries often take part in anti-Soviet rallies and meetings conducted under the cover of measures of "independent" nationalist communities. Nationalists would prefer to present such facts as evidence of their being recognized by the authorities of the countries they live in, but in reality these facts demonstrate something quite different, namely who play the role of Masters of Ceremonies and who come out as rank-and-file lackeys in anti-Soviet intrigues.

Once and again the White House and the U.S. Congress, as well as state bodies in other capitalist countries, organize various anti-Soviet rallies in which nationalist ringleaders take part. Among those allowed to participate and who are received by representatives of state organizations there are many war criminals and nazi collaborationists from WW II, also terrorists and other criminal offenders of the postwar period. The fact that they are called "champions of freedom" or the bearers of "the conscience of the free world" does not make their disgusting images more attractive. Today, to please their protectors they actively propagate the idea of a "crusade" against communism (fashioned to Hitler's *Drang nach Osten*) and the mass slaughter of people by using modern nuclear weapons.

In the course of many years, the secret services and subversive organizations of the U.S.A., Great Britain and some other capitalist countries in their undermining activities have been using inveterate criminals who, according to international commitments undertaken voluntarily by these countries, were to be prosecuted or extradited to the countries where they had committed crimes. Thus, for instance, official Washington was compelled to admit that American special organizations had for a long time resorted to the services of the bloody hangman of Lyon, Klaus Barbier, and other war criminals. It is also common knowledge that these organizations worked out and realized the project *Rat Path* according to which nazi war criminals, Gestapomen and SS-men were taken out of Germany to the West for the purpose of using the experience they had gained

working in the criminal organizations of Hitler's Third Reich.

This, as well as the attempts of the authorities in Western countries to hide war criminals from a just trial and to connive at their acts, ignoring the interests of progressive mankind and their own peoples, can be considered none other than an open betrayal of allied commitments by the U.S.A., Great Britain and other member-states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

War criminals' patrons, reluctant to admit existing links between themselves and their wards, are doing everything in their power to impede the disclosure of their disgraceful past. Nationalist and clerical organizations in their turn, availing themselves of their patrons' conduct, try to conceal that they are fully dependent on their employers. In addition, the allegation about the independence of emigré organizations does not comply with their actions. Thus, a most essential characteristic of these organizations comes to light — their status of a lackey in permanent service of their bosses abroad.

1. Instigators

IN A STATE OF NATIONALIST INTOXICATION

Now and again disreputable spectacles are staged in the U.S.A. and Canada, the countries where the chief emigré centers are located. On these occasions governors and mayors declare days of solidarity with the antipopular nationalist groups and fly flags of nonexistent state formations on office buildings. Honored in such a way, the renegades organize demonstrations, place pickets and pour out torrents of verbal dirt upon their own peoples who had shown them the door. But why should we speak of mayors and governors? In the U.S.A., celebrations in honor of certain emigrés are held on a state level in which the President and Congress take part.

Every year on January 22 or thereabouts, the American Congress opens its sessions with a prayer "in the name of the Ukraine" and speeches are made about "the day of independence and unification of the Ukraine." Such measures cannot but compromise the U.S. legislative body in the eyes of both the American and world public and this becomes all the more obvious if one delves into the essense of "independence and unification" associated with the date of January 22.

After the bourgeois-democratic revolution was accomplished in Russia and czarism overthrown on March 3 (16, New Style), 1917, a Soviet of Workers' Deputies was set up in Kiev. The next day, however, nationalists established their own "government", the so-called Central Rada (Council) which proclaimed unity with the counterrevolutionary Provisional Government in Russia. Thus, dual power emerged in the country, which came to an end in October 1917, when the Great October Socialist Revolution was accomplished and the revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers seized power.

On December 12 (25), 1917, the First All-Ukraine Congress of Soviets proclaimed Ukraine a Soviet Republic. The Congress elected legislative, administrative and executive organs of the Repub-

lic; and five days later, the first workers' and peasants' government was formed. The Ukrainian people chose a socialist way of development which, in the course of seventy years, has been marked by outstanding accomplishments in all spheres of human activities.

On January 26 (February 8), 1918, the capital of Ukraine, Kiev, was liberated by the Soviet troops, and the Soviet Ukrainian Government moved there on January 30 (February 12), 1918. Prior to that, the counterrevolutionary Central Rada, aware of its inevitable end, had got in touch with representatives of Kaiser Germany who at that time were conducting negotiations in Brest-Litovsk (now Brest) with Soviet Russia on concluding a peace treaty. Kaiser generals made use of the Central Rada for proclaiming the "independence" of Ukraine on January 22, 1918. A few days later, the Central Rada was compelled to flee from Kiev, and on January 27 (February 9), 1918, it signed a separate treaty with Germany, Austro-Hungary and some other countries of the German bloc, inviting them to bring their troops into Ukraine to fight Soviet power. The Central Rada's "independence" took the form of complete subordination to Kaiser generals, whereas for Ukraine it meant occupation of the Republic by Austro-German troops.

The slogan of "Ukraine's unification" emerged a year later, just a few days before a new counterrevolutionary bourgeois-nationalist "government" fled, the so-called *Directoria* headed by Simon Petlura, one of the ringleaders of the nationalist counterrevolution.

The "unifying" act declared the unification with the fictitious bourgeois-nationalist Western Ukrainian People's Republic (WUPR). The fact that WUPR became a member of the nonexistent bourgeois-nationalist state was of no avail to the matter of consolidating the counterrevolutionary forces and the "unification" was scarcely

instrumental in fighting the workers, peasants and revolutionary soldiers united by the Soviets. The only "advantage" the *Directoria* gained from the "unification" was an "honored asylum" it was granted in Stanislav (now Ivano-Frankivsk), the sit of the WUPR "government" at that time. However, it didn't stay there for long either, for it had to flee the city and hurry under the patronage of the Entente, thus ceasing to exist once and for all.

One must really hate the working people of Soviet Ukraine very bitterly if one slanders their achievements in every field of life and supports their bitterest enemies, the nationalist criminals who are presented by the leadership of the Washington Administration as "defenders of human rights" and "freedom champions".

The U.S. Presidents who have occupied the White House since the defeat of Hitlerite Germany and the end of WW II (and they are not few in number) have made many a statement about human rights and their being in favor of the right of every nation to choose its own way of life. However, nothing remains from all these bombastic declarations as soon as the question shifts to the right of the Soviet people or the peoples of other socialist countries to decide their own fate and to determine their own social and political systems. According to the occupants of the White House, any social system which does not follow American recipes and discards the dictates of the United States is declared criminal and nondemocratic. Following such recipes, Ronald Reagan sent a letter to the ringleader of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America on January 22, 1985. Filled with slanderous statements and hatred for the Soviet Union, it cannot but arouse indignation of the Soviet people at the fact that the President addressed a gang of anti-Sovieteers among whom are many war criminals and nazi collaborationists even today. Bows of this kind before the traitors

of their native peoples are unlikely to give credit to anyone, nor did they give any to the President of the U.S.A. when he bowed and scraped in the city of Bittburg, West Germany, before SS-men from Himmler's division *Reich* whose hands are stained with the blood of American and British soldiers brutally killed after being taken captive. The attempt to reconcile the U.S. President with war criminals, even if forty years after the end of WW II, aroused justified anger throughout the world. Such reconciliation with SS-men and fascism would inevitably give a free hand to all sorts of revanchists and warmongers.

In his letter of January 22, 1985, Ronald Reagan, as the President of one of the world's largest states, made an extremely irresponsible statement that he was convinced of the lawfulness of pretentions made by the enemies of Soviet Ukraine, and, what was more, that he would fully back their efforts in future.

The campaign of the U.S. expeditionary corps against the young Soviet state during the Civil War in Russia came to a disgraceful end. The Central Rada covered itself with infamy when, by order of Kaiser Germany, it declared its "independence" for the sole purpose — to justify Ukraine's occupation by foreign troops. Marked with the same brand of infamy, Petlura's *Directoria* sank into oblivion as well, along with its slogan of "unified and independent" Ukraine.

Much time has passed since then, but the head of the White House tries to reverse the course of history at least mentally by declaring full support of the "state" claims of his nationalist yes-men.

The outright anti-Soviet measures of the U.S. legislative body, the Congress, bear direct witness to the fact that the American Government's undermining actions against the USSR and other socialist countries are part and parcel of U.S. state policy. And such measures do not confine themselves to provocative annual celebrations of "days"

of Ukraine, Byelorussia and other Soviet republics united into a single multinational socialist state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

On June 26, 1985, after his regular speech at the U.S. Congress about the "Soviet threat" and the necessity for fundamental reform of the national defense programs, Gerald Solomon, member of the House of Representatives of the "Empire State" (N. Y.), made a statement which, according to the official Congressional Record, was devoted to the 44th anniversary of the "restoration of freedom and national sovereignty of the Ukraine" declared on June 30, 1941, in Lviv after the nazi troops occupied the city.

The next day, clumsily falsifying certain facts, some other congressmen availed themselves of the occasion to express their admiration for the "freedom" brought by nazi bayonets.

Had it not been for the entries in the Congressional Record, one could have believed that the Congressmen were simply repeating someone else's messages which they themselves did not understand, or falsified facts intentionally with the view of further intensifying the disastrous "hard line".

Congressman Broomfield of Michigan said, for instance, that the restoration of the Ukrainian state came prior to the influx of German nazi troops (to Lviv). The same nonsense was repeated by the hard-core anti-Sovieteer, Mr. Annunzio of Illinois. Seeking to make an impression of the independence of a bunch of Banderaites brought along by the nazis, they tried to convince the audience that the declaration of the "independent" state and "the calling of the regional government of the Ukraine's western regions" preceded the invasion of Lviv by the Hitlerite troops.

Broomfield's invention to the effect that the nationalists allegedly surprised the occupiers with a fait accompli and "appointed Yaroslav Stetsko prime minister of the newly-formed provisional

government" on their own is refuted by the nationalists themselves who in 1941 wrote in the "Report from the National Assembly": "The delegate of the leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists as well as all those present cordially and sincerely greeted the high-ranking officers of the German... Army who attended the meeting. A representative of the German... Army, the former colonel of the Ukrainian Galician Army, Professor Koch, also greeted those present and invited them to work and closely collaborate with the German Army under the leadership of the great *Führer*... Adolf Hitler."

Written according to one scenario, the congressmen's speeches had much in common, but what made them particularly identical was Solomon's credo with which he completed his congressional speech. Speaking of the nationalists of the '40s and '80s he said: "Their struggle is ours."

A twisted text of the *Act of Declaration of the Ukrainian State* was submitted by Mr. Annunzio for publication in the U.S. Congressional Record. One paragraph, however, was missing from it, namely the oath of allegiance of Stetsko's "government" to Hitler's Reich, which read: "The newly-formed Ukrainian State will closely collaborate with the national-socialist Great Germany which, under the leadership of its *Führer* Adolf Hitler, is introducing a new order in Europe and the world..." It is not by mere coincidence that the text of the oath corresponds to the message of the *Abwehr* officer Hans Koch who called upon the "government" just appointed to "most closely collaborate with the German Army under the leadership of the great *Führer*... Adolf Hitler." The proclamation of a "government" subordinate to the occupational authorities had been designed by the *Abwehr* in advance, long before nazi Germany's *Drang nach Osten* (Eastern Campaign) began.

The farce in Lviv was played according to a prepared scenario, while its cast, headed by the

long-standing agent of the Italian fascists and German nazis, Stetsko-Belendis-Karbovich, rode in German cars in the wake of *Wehrmacht* units and under their protection. Here is what Stetsko-Belendis-Karbovich wrote in his Report K056 of June 25, 1941 to Stepan Bandera: "Yesterday the Germans flung greater forces on Yavoriv. Along with the columns and vehicles on the march we slowly turend to Mlyniv. The Germans ask us whether there will be one of our uprisings and where... German officers have been kind to us so far... We are forming a militia force which will help them eliminate Jews... So, the militia should be met half-way everywhere and it will eliminate the Jews..."

This wish of Stetsko's was not the only one in his Report K056. Twice he prompted Bandera to get on with his Berlin bosses and then he went on to say: "The Germans should drop Ukrainian leaflets about the freedom for nations and man; "Let OKW (Supreme Command of the German Army — V.S.) use its authority. The militia will help them to set up proper order."

In their speeches on June 26—27, 1985, the U.S. congressmen strived to present the situation in such a manner as though Stetsko's "government" had been created against the will of German invaders and even fought against them. Cock-and-bull stories about that struggle were originated by Stetsko himself after the end of WW II when he tried to adapt himself to the conjuncture of the spy market. But during the war he was far more candid when he wrote in his biography which he presented to the nazi bosses from Alfred Rosenberg's department: "The government set about practical work, it organizes the economy, administration, the militia and so on, aiming at establishing the closest possible collaboration with the German military authorities and assisting them in every way by catering to all the needs of the German Armed Forces."

The lineup of the "government" included many confidential agents from nazi special services, in particular, Security Minister Mykola Lebed, and deputy War Minister Roman Shukhewich.

The No. 5 collection of *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word), published in 1977 in Munich and London, carried a story by Mykola Kosakiwski about a school in the Polish city of Zakopane where in 1939—1940 select OUNites (OUN — Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) were trained to become "insurgents" to be infiltrated into Soviet Ukraine. Mr. Kosakiwski wrote in particular: "Mykola Lebed ('Lieutenant Vilny' at that time) was the Ukrainian commandant of this school... Lebed was the first to yell 'Heil Hitler!' when, on the first night, the German head of the school Krüger told the cadets that they served Germany and its *Führer* Adolf Hitler and that from then on our greeting would be 'Heil Hitler!'... This school (its name being The Ukrainian Training Company) was set up on the initiative of the OUN leadership and with the permission of German authorities (the German state security service)... After finishing the school the graduates were to serve the German security service... I know several cases when former 'students' worked for the Gestapo."

Kosakiwski's story not only depicts one of the ministers of Stetsko's "government" but makes it clear as to what kind of an "uprising" the German officers asked Stetsko about on his way to Lviv.

Roman Shukhewich, another cohort of Bandera and Stetsko, arrived in Lviv as *Hauptmann*, "Ukrainian commander" of the *Nachtigall* battalion raised from Banderaites by the *Abwehr*.

Both Lebed and Shukhewich, along with *Nachtigall* recruits, took an immediate part in the Jewish pogroms in Lviv and the annihilation of prominent Polish and Ukrainian scholars and public figures. Early in July 1941, soldiers from the *Nachtigall* battalion carried out a mass execution of the "Reich's enemies" on Vuletsky Hills near

Lviv. After *Nachtigall* was incorporated in *Schutzmannschaftsbataillon* 201 which was attached to the anti-partisan force HQ under the *Reichsführer* SS, Shukhewich was appointed one of its commanders. This fact has been confirmed by his nationalist biographers who indicated that he was the "commander of an auxiliary *polizei* unit to fight partisans in Byelorussian Polissya."

When a considerable part of Ukraine's territory was liberated from the nazi invaders, the *Abwehr* and SS began to prepare subversive and terrorist actions to be executed by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Ukrainian abbr. UPA) in Soviet Ukraine. In September 1943, following the order of *Reichsführer SS* Himmler, Shukhewich was put at the head of the UPA.

A disgraceful part in "blessing" the nazi occupation regime was played by the Graeco-Catholic (Uniate) Church. Its Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky called upon the population of the occupied lands for "submissiveness" and "conscientious execution of duties". In his pastoral of July 1, 1941, he wrote: "I appeal to you for showing gratitude to the Most High, for faithfulness to His church and obedience to authorities." As to what authorities were meant by the old adherent of fascism Sheptytsky, becomes unequivocally clear from the same letter: "We welcome the victorious German Army as the liberator from our enemy. We give our due obedience to the established rule."

In his speech in the House of Representatives Mr. Annunzio offered some passages from Sheptytsky's pastoral arbitrarily changing it in English translation. Thus, for instance, Sheptytsky's calling for "submissiveness' was replaced by an appeal for faith. Whereas submissiveness, i. e. discipline and obedience and not faith, was of paramount importance to the Metropolitan of the Uniate Church.

In the light of these and many other facts, it looks at least strange that Congressman Solomon

tries to make the impression that the activities of Stetsko's "government" were antifascist in character and, as a result, this "government" had to go underground. To sustain this argument he refers to the fact that the "government", having been in existence only a few days, was dissolved by the invaders. The Banderaites did carry out their major task of annihilating thousands of the "Reich's enemies", but the nazi bosses realized very soon that Stetsko's assurances about an uprising behind Soviet front lines were little more than a sheer invention and that his "regional government" was incapable of exerting any influence on the freedom-loving population of the temporarily occupied lands of Western Ukraine. That decided the "government's" fate.

In addition, it should be pointed out that before July 1941, Hitler's Reich had not yet disclosed its true intentions as to governance in occupied territories, and Rosenberg's Eastern Ministry had not been formed yet. On July 16, 1941, speaking at a conference of the nazi Reich leadership, Hitler said: "Justifying our action before the world, we should proceed from tactical considerations... And in the meanwhile, we will act as if intending to carry out a mandate." True, at the same conference Hitler indicated that tactics remained tactics but Austrian Galicia had to become part of the German Empire. On August 1, 1941, these instructions were realized. Naturally enough, the nazi invaders did not need any "independent" government in the "German region", although they did put their obedient puppet Stetsko at its head.

Thus, what is at issue is not the "antifascist" activities of Stetsko's "government". Proclaiming that "their struggle is ours", the U.S. congressmen thereby put themselves on a par with outright nazi collaborationists and war criminals like SD Lieutenant Vilny-Lebed who found refuge in Yonkers near New York, or the "Premier" Stetsko whose visits to the U.S.A. had been an event of common

occurrence. In July 1983, Stetsko and other anti-communists were received in the Capitol by the very same Gerald Solomon who, in Congress, had praised the 44th anniversary of the formation of Stetsko's profascist puppet government. The next day Stetsko was allowed to attend a "ceremony" in the White House when the U.S. President signed the proclamation of the annual "captive nations week". There he was honored with a presidential handshake which inspired him to throw himself with new fervor into espionage and subversive activities against socialist countries. Also at that ceremony Stetsko and his counterparts from other foreign nationalist organizations could hear statements which are repeated by some Congressmen: "Your struggle is ours. Your dream is our dream... You bear the testimony and blessings of freedom."

These Congressmen care not at all that Stetsko's conscience is stained with the blood of thousands of Lvivites tortured to death during the several-day-long rule of his "government", with the blood of many civilians in Ukraine, Poland and Czechoslovakia where the UPA units acted on Bandera's and Stetsko's instructions. They should have taken into account that in his time Stetsko sent laudatory messages to Hitler, Goering, Mussolini and the Spanish Caudillo Franko, and with his own hand wrote the following savage passage in his autobiography: "I stand for the extermination of Jews and find it expedient to introduce in the Ukraine the German methods of extermination of Jewry, excluding their assimilation..."

Stetsko's penchant for bluffs called forth complaints from Ukrainian nationalists. Here is an example. The Munich-based *Ukrainsky Samostiynyk* (Ukrainian Independent, No. 9, February 27, 1955) wrote: "Yaroslav Stetsko is confident that stretching historical truth and disreputable improvisation can add... to his glory and respect for him.

One can agree that on June 30, 1941, only a minor attempt was made to establish Ukrainian national governance for Galicia. In actual fact, however, the Ukrainian independent state did not exist a single day at that time.

"Stetsko went to Spain to fool the country and its ministers that he allegedly was the Premier of a 'Free Ukraine', and on those grounds he was allowed to meet with the leaders.

"...Stetsko has a dangerous mania of exaggeration and morbid imagination, he entertains excessive fantasies in which, perhaps, he believes himself. Just as he talked himself into believing that he was the Prime Minister of Ukraine, he now believes that from Munich he guides the revolution of liberation of all non-Russian peoples of the USSR."

Ukrainsky Samostiynyk complained that the bluffs and frauds which Stetsko had constantly resorted to might result in the fact that "the world will stop believing in the entire cause and stow it away in a box with the inscription 'Adventure'."

Much later, on June 3, 1981, the Winnipeg-based nationalist newspaper *Ukrainsky Holos* (Ukrainian Voice) wrote about the "State Act of June 30, 1941" the following: "This is what must be said in the name of truth:

"1. The above act cannot be considered a state act for it was not proclaimed by representatives of the entire Ukrainian people but only by one Ukrainian, moreover, Galician organization...

"4. That the OUN of Banderaites did collaborate with Hitler is borne out by that sorry proclamation and, in particular, by the words that follow (quote from *Zborivsky Visti*, July 10, 1941): 'Glory to the heroic German Army and its *Führer* Adolf Hitler!'

"This collaboration or orientation is also proved by an excerpt from the so-called Act of Declaration of the Ukrainian State (quote from *Zhovkivsky Visti*, July 31, 1941):

'3. The newly-formed Ukrainian State will closely collaborate with the national-socialist Great Germany...' "

The adventurist Stetsko had bluffed for decades posing as the Premier of Ukraine. Other nationalist ringleaders continue to bluff now, and the "leading figures" arouse these criminals' morbid self-admiration by calling them the "conscience of the Free World". All this occurs in an atmosphere of nationalist intoxication which is being presently intensified in the United States and other capitalist countries amidst hypocritical references to national interests.

The fact that Washington's leaders honor war criminals and nazi collaborationists, approve and support their efforts towards and methods of reaching illusory goals, can justly be regarded as a direct incitement of reactionary groups abroad to new subversive actions against countires with most of which the United States maintains diplomatic relations.

No wonder that after WW II the U.S.A. became a state with the greatest number of antisocialist and, above all, anti-Soviet organizations and groups. Among their members there are many nazi collaborationists and other criminals even today who are employed by American official establishments and reactionary circles for carrying out assignments which are inseparable from the attribute "dirty".

IN THE RULERS' NAME

Another permanent anti-Soviet campaign is the "captive nations' week" (not "day") which American subversive and propaganda agencies direct, first and foremost, against the countries of the socialist community. For the first time the disreputable procedure of proclaiming the "captive

nations' week" by the U.S. President was held in 1959 and it has been repeated annually ever since. The procedure is carried out according to the Public Law 86-90 adopted in 1959, and according to the resolution passed by the Senate and the House of Representatives which stated, in particular, that the "week" must be observed until freedom and independence are achieved by all captive nations in the world.

It is obvious that "all captive nations in the world" were mentioned by the President merely for the sake of appearances. Dwight Eisenhower, the U.S. President at that time, made it quite clear against whom the "week" venture was directed. Said the President: "I invite the people of the United States of America to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities and I urge them to study the struggle of nations enslaved by the Soviets."

Dwight Eisenhower's first address demonstrated its juristic groundlessness. According to it, the "week" was declared whereas the U.S. citizens were linked with many people in other countries by family ties, whereas the U.S. citizens had principles of respect for freedom and justice on every continent, and, therefore, it was but natural for the U.S. Government and the people to express their support to the "enslaved nations"...

Lawyers and advisers should have been aware of the fact that the President's proclamations of this kind had nothing to do with "respect for freedom and justice" and were little more than impudent interference in the domestic affairs of socialist countries.

Proceeding from Dwight Eisenhower's proclamation, repeated annually with insignificant alterations, it follows that the U.S. Government regards as its ligitimate right to poke its nose in the affairs of any continent where relatives of American citizens reside. The existence of "family ties" with many people abroad become yet another

pseudoexcuse for the geopolitical theories popular during Eisenhower's presidency, adjusted so as to prove that the sphere of the U.S. "political and defense interests" embraces practically the entire globe. As the President of the United States, Eisenhower said that fate had made his country responsible for the leadership in the free world (*New York Times*, January 31, 1953). Much later, when he was no longer president, the American press underlined, according to its judgement, what was the most important in his eight-year-long presidency: "As President, Eisenhower stressed the U.S. mission of leadership in world affairs."

Shortly after the annual "captive nations' week" was proclaimed, the nationalist newspaper *Svoboda* (Freedom) was in raptures repeating over and over again that "the approval of the law on captive nations' week has been America's largest 'caliber' in the cold war against the communist-Moscovite threat... The value of this week also lies in the fact that in any case it cannot cut both ways nor can it turn against America for its edge is directed exclusively against Moscow..." Also at that time *Svoboda* blurted out that it would prefer the "week" to be more effective and influential and not, as it put it, "wishy-washy", and that it "must become another 'July 4' in foreign policy". Referring to the Declaration of Independence adopted on July 4, 1776, *Svoboda*, thereby, played a dirty trick upon its masters.

The Declaration of more than 200-years' standing put the right to life first and foremost among the rest of human rights. It says, in particular, that all men "are endowed... with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty..." Some present-day U.S. leaders, however, maintain that there are things more important than the preservation of peace and the securing of the human right to life. It was pure sacrilege to announce, on the Hiroshima victims' Memory Day,

the beginning of neutron weapons production, the weapons destroying man but leaving material values unharmed, which are obviously of greater importance to the American leadership.

The bellicose U.S. leaders do not care in the least about the Hiroshima and Nagasaki tragedies. On August 6, 1985, a unilateral Soviet moratorium on all kinds of nuclear weapons tests was announced. The Soviet Union called on the U.S.A. to follow suit but the Pentagon generals increased their nuclear testing instead; twenty one nuclear installations were tested within thirteen monhs while the Soviet moratorium remained valid.

Directed against colonialist Great Britain of the 18th century, the Declaration of July 4 indicated that "the history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny..."

Great Britain's colonialist nature was on display once again during the Anglo-Argentinian military clash in the Falkland Islands area. So, the characteristics found in the July Declaration suit Great Britain very well today, too. Contrary to the spirit of this Declaration, and contrary to the commitments of a member of the Organization of American States, the U.S.A. of the 1980s took sides with Great Britain helping it restore its colonialist rule on the Falkland Islands.

Nationalists would have been glad to have the cutting edge of the U.S. aggressive policy directed "exclusively against Moscow" and, interpreting certain propositions of the Declaration of Independence (1776) in their own way, they strive to reduce it to the subversive "captive nations' week".

The American propaganda has spared no effort to present the U.S.A. as a country which is alien to any dishonorable designs or intentions, as a divine glass house which can be observed from inside and outside alike. Even the "captive nations' week" resolution, which became law after

having been proclaimed by the U.S. President, pointed out, of course not self-critically and making the desired pass for reality, that "submerged nations look to the United States as the citadel of human freedom." It is quite obvious, however, that the practical deeds of those responsible for the American state policy do not agree with a reasonable saying which goes: those residing in a glass house should not hurl stones at a stranger.

The U.S.A. today openly seeks to restore neocolonialist customs all over the world under its own aegis. With this end in view, the U.S. ignores the propositions of the UN Declaration which grants independence to colonial countries and peoples, and tries to belittle the significance of the Declaration by interpreting it in its own way. To divert world public attention from its expansionary activities, the U.S.A. resorts to the commonly known method of crying "Stop thief!", yelling at every corner about "the aggressive nature of the Soviet Union" and "Soviet military threat", or even about "Soviet colonialism".

Howling about human rights and the "nondemocratic nature" of socialist countries, the Washington leaders do not confine themselves to the propagation of the conception of cold, psychological or psychopolitical warfare. The slogans of "liberating captive nations" advanced by the U.S. leaders conceal their quite real attempts to recarve the political map of the world, which find their reflection in crafty conspiracies, coup d'états, counterrevolutionary *Putsches*, and various plans of delivering nuclear blows on socialist countries.

A number of reports have been published stating that the U.S.A. is actively engaged in working out plans of nuclear, biological, and chemical attacks on the USSR. Here are the names of the projects: *Charioteer, Trojan, Dropshot, Pincher*, etc. Thus, the "citadel of human freedom" is demonstrating to the whole world its attitude to freedom and human rights.

What role do "captive nations' weeks" play in the plans of the American imperialists? What are the "ideological grounds" of a nuclear blow on the countries where the relatives of American citizens reside? It is very doubtful that they would like to be "defended" in such a manner. Besides, the allegations of the nationalist Radio Liberty to the effect that the "captive nations' weeks" or a nuclear blow "cannot cut both ways nor can it turn against America" will not be of any help to American relatives, and that's quite definite.

According to the U.S. residents, the marking of a "captive nations' week" is little more significant an event than the "national potato week" or the "national hot dog month".

The past years have shown that the American Congress attaches, in fact, as much importance to "captive" nations as it does to a potato or a hot dog. But, at the same time, it does not miss an opportunity to use a "captive nations' week", an invention of its own, in a regularly repeated anti-Soviet farce.

Present-day politicians from the Washington Administration are reluctant to keep to the declarative provisions of the American Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights and other 18th-century documents. They would prefer to write their own history, stuffing it up with statements of "global" importance, signing it with their own hand, and directing outside, as far as possible from such domestic problems as economic depressions, inflation, unemployment and crimes.

Following this way, the American Administration and the U.S. Congress turn out various laws and other "state documents" intended to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries "disagreeable" with the United States. The present head of the White House has excelled all of his predecessors at inventing and proclaiming "days" and "weeks", flavoring them abundantly with antiso-

cialist and anti-Soviet clamorous campaigns. There have been "days" of Cuba, Poland and Afghanistan proclaimed, and there have been "days" of Ukraine and Byelorussia marked...

True, they do not honor the present-day Cuba, Poland or Afghanistan, nor do they pay homage to Soviet Ukraine or Byelorussia. On the contrary, all these "celebrations" are linked with events hostile to these countries.

The head of the Washington Administration does not disdain to establish particular "days" as well, such as an "Andrei Sakharov day" or Proclamation No. 4973 of 1982 which announced one-day-long twaddle apropos of "not fulfilling the Helsinki Accords" in Ukraine. More than one such "day" has been devoted to criminal offenders who had fled Ukraine and were later transformed into freedom champions and martyrs by the President's inventive advisers.

The leaders of the White House should have kept it in mind that international policy is constructed on the basis of reciprocity. What tune would they have sung if, say, a zealous follower of this political line of present-day Washington, had declared a "day" or a "week" in honor of pre-1776 America? Or if, instead of observing American national holidays, he had begun to extol and propagate through the mass media ideas of pre-Washington America when it was torn apart by foreign colonizers? Very probably the present U.S. Administration would not have found it to be to their liking.

Thus, what right has the White House to assume the role of world gendarme, or to dictate its customs and way of life to other peoples and sovereign states? Regrettably as it is, the White House has made such actions its state policy.

Under the present U.S. Administration the annual show of the "captive nations' week" has continually broadened in scope, being accompanied with receptions in Congress, in the offices

of Washington newspapers, and so on and so forth.

In 1981, a reception was given in Congress to Yaroslav Stetsko, a war criminal, an anti-Semite, enemy of democracy, misanthrope, the head of the terrorist organization Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (ZChOUN). His statement that the Soviet Union was allegedly "making the best use of the West's fear before a nuclear war" met with approval from congressmen, the hawks who take any opportunity to howl about the "Soviet threat" which is, in fact, nothing but a mere concoction.

The hit of the 1982 "week" was the reception the U.S. President gave to a group of nationalists headed by the then leader of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), colonel of the American intelligence service, Lev E. Dobriansky.

Lavishing praise upon Ronald Reagan's aggressiveness, Mr. Dobriansky described the signing ceremony of "captive nations' week" proclamation in the *Ukrainian Quarterly* No. 3, 1982 as follows: "The event was clearly a 'first' for the President; none of his predecessors dared to highlight the annual Week in this summit fashion."

In his proclamation the head of the White House scornfully spoke of the sovereignty of a number of states in Europe and Asia, thereby greatly exceeding the limits of the permissible to a state figure. "This statement," Mr. Dobriansky stressed, "places the President's position far above anything comparable to that of his predecessors..."

Urged on by the President's militant speeches, several dozens of congressmen and senators, including such violent hawks as Edward J. Derwinski of Illinois and Samuel Stratton of New York, held a competition of sorts in the Capitol challenging one another as to who would throw more dirt at the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The signing ceremony of the "captive nations' week" proclamation in 1983 brought together perhaps the greatest number of extras from the criminal world. This dramatized show, accompanied by supernumerary handshakes with the U.S. President and vice president, marked the 25th "jubilee" anniversary of the week of interference in the internal affairs of states living according to their own laws and not American.

In 1983 the "captive nations' week" spectacle reached its acme: in the previous years the Washington leaders had also engaged individual chance-comers, but this time the crowd scene was especially populous, using a great variety of sound effects.

With time other events overshadowed the annual "weeks" and they gradually lost their clamor. In 1985, for instance, the "captive nations' week" was held without the President's personal participation. The proclamation signed by the President was read at the White House by Vice President George Bush and at the end of the "week" at that. This, however, does not necessarily imply that someone will not try to exploit the "week" as a formal cause for another anti-Soviet sabbath in the future. And, besides, the "captive nations' weeks" are not at issue. Should they have not been, ideological saboteurs would have certainly invented other "days", "weeks" and "months". But in so far as the "weeks" proclamations continue, the reactionary groups in the U.S.A. keep on yelling about "captive nations" and "freedom" which is allegedly an indispensable attribute of the capitalist way of life. The "weeks" are simply a convenient occasion, sanctified by the President, for whipping up slanderous campaigns against socialist countries and the Soviet Union in particular.

Whatever idea the organizers of such hostile displays might hit upon, it will not give them any advantage because the measures directed against

the interests of the peoples are doomed to an inglorious end. Nothing will come out of them just as nothing has come out of the "captive nations' week" campaign which had lasted almost thirty years in the U.S.A. It is high time the chronic speculations apropos of the "week" were given up as a bad job for they compromise, above all, their initiators — the Congress and the Government of the United States. This is understood both by ordinary people and many political figures in the U.S. It was not by mere chance that the House of Representatives passed by an overwhelming majority a resolution calling upon the U.S. Administration to resume talks on the general and complete ban of nuclear arms tests. It happened at a time when the 27th CPSU Congress was working in Moscow. The overwhelming majority of members in the House of Representatives demanded that President Reagan sumbit the treaty on limiting underground nuclear weapons tests and the treaty on underground nuclear blasts for peaceful objectives to the Senate for ratification.

The only alternative to the nuclear duel is to settle existing contradictions by way of peaceful negotiations between the sides concerned. State and public figures, as well as entire humanity, should demonstrate a real, not verbal, concern for the preservation of peace and securing inalienable human rights, above all the most sacred, the right to live.

Anxious about the growing public consciousness in their countries, the Washington Administration resorts to brainwashing their fellow citizens on a large scale. This is, above all, the ominous whipping up of a nationalist stink under the guise of "new patriotism", accompanied by strengthening chauvinistic and racial sentiments among the élite — the American Establishment.

Such bombarding of public opinion is carried out through a ramified official system of TV, radio and the press, as well as by way of conducting

subversive and corrupting activities within public organizations. Briefings for newspaper and magazine editors held by emigré organizations in the U.S. State Department have become a common occurrence. Along with other departments concerned, the State Department is fanning the anti-Soviet hysteria, instigating the emigré press to pervert and blacken the policy and social accomplishments of socialist countries.

Following State Department's suit and instructions, the U.S. diplomatic missions abroad carry out the same subversive activities. Every Tuesday the Embassy of the U.S.A. in Delhi conducts "briefings on Afghanistan" which actually boil down to spreading defamatory materials among newsmen and other journalists.

The slanderous campaign was joined by the Central Intelligence Agency as well. Not long ago its "brains bunkers" specializing in working out plans of ideological subversive actions against the USSR and other socialist countries began to daily release selected materials distorting events in these countries and perverting the Soviet Union's foreign and domestic policies. To be more precise, the CIA has been preparing such materials for a long time, but for the time being they were intended for a narrow circle of "consumers". At a time when the draft of the U.S. federal budget for the 1987 fiscal year was discussed and when the U.S. military-industrial complex set about twisting the arms of U.S. Congress members, the CIA noticeably intensified the production of fabrications about the "Soviet military threat". Materials on the subject were disseminated among the Washington Administration executives, commissions and offices of the Congress and, naturally, were sent to the TV, radio and the press.

Symptomatically, at the same time, renegades of different colors began to simultaneously talk of the "threat" of the Soviet Union's peaceful proposals to the U.S.A., of the "unreliability" and "per-

fidy" of the Soviet side at the Soviet-American bilateral talks in Geneva on nuclear and outer space arms, of the Soviet Union's "nonadherence" to the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, of the "violation" of human rights and many other deadly sins the blame for which they would prefer to put on someone else.

On receiving additional instructions, the antisocialist organizations abroad, including Ukrainian nationalist organizations, liven up for some time to work off the subsistence their masters had provided them with, to get praised or even find themselves mentioned on the pages of the "big" press. The point is that certain actions of nationalist groups, as well as receptions given to nationalist leaders in the U.S. Congress, the White House and the British Parliament, are advertised not only by emigré publications, but also through the Western mass media.

In 1982, the Washington "entrepreneurs" staged a feast in honor of the "freedom fighters" from the former Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

Facts testify that the leadership of the UPA were mostly trained at schools of the nazi security service (SD), while the UPA itself was formed and armed by the nazis to execute terrorist and subversive activities behind the lines of the Soviet Army. The defeat of nazi Germany notwithstanding, the UPA continued to carry out the assignments of their nazi bosses, terrorizing civilian population and striving to hinder the reconstruction of Soviet Ukraine's national economy. And they kept on doing so until their murderous actions were put to an end.

Nationalists themselves cannot disprove these undeniable facts either. They do admit that UPA officers were trained in specialized schools of the nazi SD, that the commander of the UPA, Roman Shukhewich, took part in punitive actions staged by the German police units, and that UPA activi-

ties were terrorist in essence. The official "Chronicle" of the SS Halychina Infantry Division contains an entry dated March 20, 1944, which reads: "There is a Ukrainian insurgent (i.e. member of the UPA — V. S.) in Volhynian Region or, probably, already in Galicia, who boasts of having strangled 300 Poles with a rope. He is considered a hero there." The UPA recruits must have learned the teachings of nazi instructors to perfection and, as the herald of the OUNite knife and rope, the former Petluraite officer Yevhen Malaniuk loftily put it, "cut a stranger's life" with zeal.

So much the more preposterous is the fact that "prominent American generals, senators, congressmen and ambassadors took part in celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army held within the framework of the captive nations' week in the Capitol in Washington." This fact was covered by the OUNite newspaper *Homin Ukrainy* (Ukrainian Echo) on August 25, 1982, which also quoted the words of the head of the U.S. department of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), the retired General John K. Singlaub: "It (a total war) knows no truce and can only end if one of the antagonistic camps is totally defeated... Only by adding an offensive component, the principle of the counterattack, will the U.S. arrive at a global strategy..."

Misanthropic calls for defeating "one of the antagonistic camps" resound in Congress of the largest capitalist country. And this cannot but worry the people of good will all across the world and, above all, in the United States of America. People today do not need "a global strategy", they long for peace among nations, happiness and prosperity for themselves, their children and all the inhabitants of our planet.

Anti-Soviet actions in the U.S. Congress and the White House have come to be a regular occurrence. The President of the U.S.A. began the year

1986 with statements about the peaceful policy of his Administration, but his practical deeds, however, have utterly refuted his mellifluous and demagogic declarations. Instead of redeeming his promises, which he generously gives in Congress and at press conferences, Ronald Reagan received a group of leaders of the Nicaraguan *contras* which he would like to have as Nicaragua's rulers, promising them military and financial assistance. Then he received Jonas Savimbi, the leader of the UNITA terrorist organization which is active in Angola with the support of the South African racist regime. Mr. Savimbi and his racist patrons were satisfied: the terrorist leader left Washington with fifteen million dollars in his pocket, which the American Administration had given him in addition to the so-called regular military assistance.

The Prime Minister of Great Britain Margaret Thatcher decided not to fall behind. In March 1986, she received the ringleader of the Afghan counterrevolutionaries Abdul Khuk, commander of a 5,000 strong *dushman* gang formation. The details of the agreement on intensifying cut-throat raids on the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are unlikely to be disclosed soon. But it is common knowledge, however, that the major question discussed at the meeting was that of additional financial injections to the *dushmans* to enable them to activize subversive and terrorist activities.

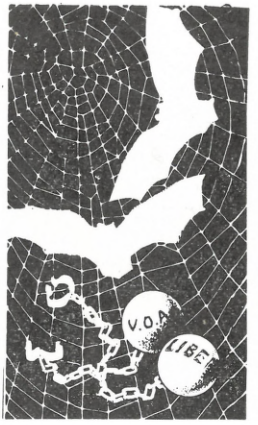
Not in the least ashamed of their hebavior, representatives of the British Foreign Office, summing up Abdul Khuk's meetings with the Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary and leading figures of the British Government, made a statement according to which the British leadership had expressed "full support" for the Afghan *dushmans*.

Official London's "full support" for Abdul Khuk without doubt applies to the criminal actions of his bands. As the ringleader admitted himself, those actions include the bombing of Kabul International Airport and missile attacks on Afghan

settlements, which inflicted devastating losses among the civilian population.

The British and American administrations cynically advertise their links with antipopular reactionary forces in other countries and their organizations abroad. Thus, for instance, speaking at the meeting commemorating the 20th anniversary of the erection of the Taras Shevchenko monument in Washington, Linas Kojelis, a confidential representative of the U.S. President, said on September 16, 1984 that the Reagan Administration had been collaborating with 55 "extremely anticommunist ethnic groups" giving them more consideration "than any other previous administration of the U.S.A.". There's no denying the truth. The present U.S. Administration indeed gives much consideration to that sort of activity.

Directed against the interests of their own peoples, the anticommunist and anti-Soviet activities of the government bodies in the United States, Great Britain and some other countries pursuing the course of Washington's aggressive and hegemonic foreign policy arouse increasing resistance from the realistically-minded public figures and statesmen in the West. And their voices for the elimination of a military threat could probably help create a life-giving atmosphere of cooperation between nations and states, including those with different social and political systems. This is what national and international peace-making organizations come out for, trying to achieve a settlement of the existing problems through peaceful negotiations rather than by exchanging nuclear blows.



2. Coordinators

CRAFTY DESIGNS OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

Instigators, the superior servants of the golden calf which were referred to in the previous chapter, differ exceedingly from rank-and-file executors of perfidious schemes not only in their social and public status, but also in the degree of responsibility for the crimes they committed.

When an executor is caught red-handed, which, as a rule, is the logical termination of a spy-subversive career, his inspirers and bosses, according to an established rule, maintain they had nothing to do with him whatsoever. In such situations they willingly allege that their wards are free and independent in their actions.

Many executors, particularly those from nationalist circles, knavishly exploit such statements as proof of their groups' "independence" from their actual bosses and inspirers, including the secret services in capitalist countries. Usually, secret services work out plans for subversive actions against socialist countries in advance, leaving themselves in the background and putting counterrevolutionary nationalist organizations and groups in the forefront. The executors rejoice: we are, they say, the vanguard in the struggle against the ways and customs of socialist countries.

Hiding behind the false slogan of independence, nationalist organizations abroad from time to time repeat bourgeois propaganda stereotypes, and also criticize the administrations and individual statesmen of the countries where they reside. True, if they do so, their criticism is mostly directed against the "much too mild official line" regarding socialist countries, or the "fear" of military confrontation, i. e. they proceed from a classic position of local hawks.

A favorite subject for extremist nationalist groups abroad to twaddle about is human rights and freedoms which allegedly do not exist or, at least, are violated in socialist countries. This equally applies to Ukrainian nationalist organizations which make attacks on Soviet Ukraine. They

hunt up kindred souls among ideologically unstable Soviet citizens and criminal offenders, or simply invent martyrs and victims, having more than enough imagination for this.

The moment a new "victim" is discovered, its nationalist "defenders" are joined by subversive and propaganda establishments of a higher rank, including various state departments. This is followed by a fresh portion of defamatory, spiteful anti-Soviet inventions which are splashed about by the TV, radio and the press.

When attention of state establishments is drawn to the fact that they are meddling, to put it mildly, in the affairs of foreign countries they, as if burnt, stir up a commotion about the suppression of freedom of speech, information, religion and the like.

All the accusations of violating freedoms brought by those who stage anticommunist and anti-Soviet campaigns are invariably aimed at one target. This is, so to speak, an arsenal for export: they can see very far when the affairs of foreign countries are concerned and fail to see anything when it concerns problems in their own countries.

Pinning hopes on brainwashing citizens in socialist and other countries rejecting the capitalist methods of managing economy and way of life, the bourgeois propaganda machine makes much ado about broadcasting in the languages of these countries. The BBC, VOA, the Voice of Israel, *Deutsche Welle* and Radio Vatican are experts in this field. The Voice of Afghanistan and the Voice of Free Asia were set up, financed by the American CIA. Closely connected with the CIA are Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe, Radio Marti in Florida broadcasting to socialist Cuba, and a number of other "voices" whose vocabulary abounds in demagogic phrases about freedom, human rights, free world and captive nations.

Advertising the far-reaching aggressive course of the former U.S. representative in the UN, J. Kirkpatrick, the nationalist newspaper *Svoboda*

wrote on June 22, 1984 the following about her interview in Washington: "Doctor J. Kirkpatrick, the U.S. Ambassador to the UN, claimed that America holds hopes for the liberation of captive nations in future through the broadcasts of the VOA, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and Radio Marti."

J. Kirkpatrick proved to be a zealous advocate of the demands of the American Administration's conservative section for a hard line towards the progressive ("left" according to the terminology of official Washington) movements in Latin America and other regions of the world. But for all that, in 1985 she had to waive her prestigious post of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary and that of a Cabinet minister in favor of Lieutenant General Vernon Walters, 68, a greater extremist and anti-Sovieteer than she, the former deputy director of the CIA.

Mr. Walters had deserved such a promotion not only because of his faithful service to President Reagan as ambassador for his private missions but primarily because of his pathological anticommunism, his experience in the sphere of espionage, and readiness to carry out any assignment of the U.S. conservative leaders and the President himself.

The "changing of the guard" in the U.S. representation at the UN was logically connected with the increasing aggressiveness in foreign policy pursued by the Administration of the 40th President of the U.S.A., with their subversive actions against the UNESCO and, later, against the UN itself.

American and other subversive "radio voices" willingly joined a new anti-Soviet campaign against the permanent missions of the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR and Byelorussian SSR at the UN. Talking profusely about the U.S. solicitations for reducing these delegations' personnel, they thereby provoked universal censure of the American official establishments' attempts to interfere

with impunity in the internal affairs of sovereign states and the independent international organization.

These "radio voices" propagate "unlimited freedoms" and incite listeners in socialist countries to carry out antistate actions. At the same time they persistently overlook the acknowledgement by the Americans themselves: freedom to move one's arm stops where another person's nose begins. However, according to "radio defenders" of "democracy", any limitation of freedoms is considered a crime.

Foreign ideological saboteurs, including Ukrainian nationalists and clericals, have more than once created a ballyhoo about "violation of human rights" in the Soviet Union, tearfully describing the "torments" which the imprisoned "freedom fighters" have to suffer.

Some of the "martyrs" were turned out of the Soviet Union right into the arms of their defenders. Therefore let those who used to howl about the torments, now concern themselves about the "martyrs". With regards to this, a popular Ukrainian saying goes: "The eyes saw what they bought, so they have only themselves to blame for it."

Here are some of the "prisoners of conscience", as foreign lamenters call them:

Joseph Slipij. As a former Lviv bishop he had on his conscience the blood and tears of thousands of young men and women taken, with his blessings, to Germany for slave labor, or mobilized by the nazis for the SS Division Halychina. When abroad, this "martyr for faith" tried to persistently prove to Pope John XXIII, to his successor Paul VI, and other Vatican dignitaries that during the investigation and at the trial he behaved as a "hero" and that he consciously chose "martyrdom". This is obviously a "black lie" on the conscience of the last Metropolitan of the Graeco-Catholic (Uniate) Church in Ukraine. Slipij's confessions, partially published in the Soviet press,

show that during interrogations he told with zeal and in detail about the role of the Curia Romana in profascist activities; how the Graeco-Catholic Church, following instructions (the so-called encyclics) from the Vatican, carried on subversive activities against revolutionary forces; and how he and his subordinates, using the entire system of the Uniate Church, conducted subversive actions to prevent the impact of communism, against the Soviet system. Slipij also pointed out that "the Vatican and the Graeco-Catholic Church have always sided with the fascist states". Slipij sinned against truth when he spoke of horrible conditions in which he allegedly lived in the Soviet Union. He understandably chose to hold back the fact that, before leaving the Soviet Union, he kept a fast and oppressed his flesh so as to look at least a little bit of a "martyr".

Svyatoslav Karavansky, presented by "compassionate" nationalist sympathizers as a "poet" and "scholar" who was allegedly put behind bars "without trial". This nationalist, also known under the pseudonym of "Balzac" and as an agent of the nazi intelligence service under code number U-1103, was arrested together with his partner, a spy radio operator, after they crossed the Soviet border. On serving his sentence and having been turned out of the country, he drew such a picture of his trying experiences and persecution for his "dissidence" (he did not mention anything of his espionage mission and its ignoble end) that even his partner the radioman, Mikhailo Hdeshinsky, the former priest from the Kirovograd Region, could not bear it. In a number of published articles he reminded the "prisoner of conscience" of the moment when both of them, equipped with arms, a radio set, ciphers, and false documents, were arrested when attempting to carry out a spy assignment.

Leonid Pliushch. Before he was turned out of the Soviet Union, the nationalists used to call him

a "Ukrainian mathematician", a "dissident", the one "sent to a lunatic asylum for his dissidence". Having found himself abroad, he did not justify his "sympathizers' " and "protectors' " hopes. Due to the split personality characteristic of a mentally diseased person, Pliushch quite unexpectedly spoke of himslef as a "neo-Marxist" when meeting with nationalists abroad, or an "atheist" at an audience with Mstislav, the self-styled Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. His wife, who calls herself "a hundred-per-cent Ukrainian patriot" because her father, as she says, is a "Ukrainian Jew" and mother "a Russian", had to work off for her husband.

Abroad "dissidents" are nothing but a big nuisance to nationalists. Ideological saboteurs of the latter half of the 20th century apply the word *dissident* specifically to any apostate or renegade, but most frequently to those who, for one reason or another, are in conflict with the laws of the Soviet Union and other socilaist countries. Therefore, the ranks of modern dissidents include spies and criminal offenders, or simply mentally diseased persons, while the range of meanings of this word is much wider.

In fact, the fates of "dissidents" do not worry their foreign "sympathizers" very much. The latter only need them as a pretext for hollering about life "without any rights" in Soviet Ukraine.

Joseph Slipij became very sad when he left the Soviet Union and found himself abroad. Those who had formerly "defended" him told him bluntly that they would have preferred him to stay a "martyr" in the Soviet Union rather than have him come alive abroad. Speaking on the occasion of Slipij's birthday, Ivan Hrynioch, the former chaplain of the *Abwehr* subversive battalion *Nachtigall* and one of the leaders of the OUN and the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, failed to refrain from publishing in the Munich-based nationalist magazine

Suchasnist (Present Times) an article which said in particular: "...The difficulty lies in the fact that we celebrate his 90th birthday when he is alive and not dead."

Slipij's death in 1984 stirred up a new wave of speculations about his name: clericals, nationalists and the nationalist fascists of the Hrynioch type were now confident that Slipij would not do anything wrong and nothing could interfere with their intention to show this odious hypocrite to the best advantage, or even elevate him to the ranks of "martyrs for Christ's sake".

Covering their uncomely deeds with slogans of the struggle for "freedom of consience" and "human rights", the clerical and nationalist "defenders" prophesy all possible and impossible misfortunes which, they say, may befall a candidate to "martyrdom" they choose themselves. They are in raptures in case their prophesies come true. But most frequently their hopes for sensations are not realized and then their joy is replaced by reproaches and attacks on their wards for their "weak spirit" or even a "high treason".

Similar yelps of disappointment accompanied not only Slipij, but also other clerical and nationalist "martyrs" and "prisoners of conscience" when they were turned out of the Soviet Union.

"Dissidents" were and continue to be needed by their "sympathizers" as their obedient mouthpiece, or as a trump-card in their subversive game against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This is precisely why Banderaite organizations have flirted with "dissidents". The result of all this was evident at the press conference held in Kiev on November 22, 1983. Submitted for the journalists' consideration were publications issued by nationalist organizations abroad as well as private letters of the OUN leader Yaroslav Stetsko which he had sent in the hope that they would reach his accomplices. In one of these letters he wrote: "Dissidents have brought us little good, if

at all...," and then he went on to explain that the reasons were, "apart from principal differences", in the "egocentrism and love for money" of the newcomers. Among their other inherent charcteristics the OUN ringleader mentioned immorality, though he did not care about it very much. What really worried him was, as he wrote in July 1982, that "dissidents are aiming to drive a wedge into our... unity. One of them preaches Russophilia, federation; Pliushch, neocommunism and neo-Marxism..."

"Dissidents" squabble with each other but become good partners the very moment they are given instructions by their bosses from subversive establishments in Western capitalist countries. On receiving an order, they are ready for collaboration and alliance. Thus, the "Russian dissident" Grigorenko became the "general sponsor" and the principal speaker at the Zionist-nationalist assemblage staged in Denver, Colorado, in October 1983, on the occasion of the opening there of the Babiy Yar Park.

The entrepreneurs of Grigorenko's tour saw to it that it was made the best use of with a view to brainwash the American audience, to whip up anti-Soviet hysteria and to propagate the idea of a "crusade" against communism. According to the Toronto-based magazine *Novi Dni* (New Days, November 1983), he was brought to the U.S. Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs where "four thousand cadets gave him an ovation unheard of here before."

Novi Dni patently decided to amuse its readers. Could any other visitor to the academy, indeed,— a war hero, a general or a state figure of the U.S.A.— rival the dissident Grigorenko?! The ovation which he received had been "unheard of here before" in the entire thirty-year history of the Air Force Academy.

However, individual persons or their names are not the point. Some of the names of the "perse-

cuted" and "prisoners of conscience" in the anti-Soviet pack of "marked cards" have got so greasy that foreign soul players had to discard and replace them with new "trump names". These names are used for political speculations and belong to ordinary criminal offenders transfigured into "heroes", "intellectuals", "martyrs" and the like.

Speculations on the "defense of human rights" have become such a profitable affair for anti-Sovieteers that in 1961 they set up an organization intended to coordinate the activities of various subversive groups abroad. The organization was given the ambiguous name of Amnesty International, its center being located in London, England, and national sections in dozens of capitalist countries. A place of note among them belongs to the National Section in the U.S. with its offices in New York, Washington and San Francisco. The book *Under the Mask of Human Rights Figthers* by Boris Antonov, published by the Politvidav Ukrainy Publishers, Kiev, 1979, states that "the connection of this organization with the U.S. CIA was exposed back in the 1960s and this fact was widely covered by the press. Also at that time it became known that Amnesty International had been financed by the American intelligence service."

Proclaiming its principal objective to be to guarantee the carrying out of the provisions of the General Declaration of Human Rights (adopted by the UN General Assembly) throughout the world, Amnesty International, in effect, acts contrary to the declaration's provisions, following cynical American postulates rather than the traditional British politesse, even if formalistic in its essence.

What propriety and good taste can one speak about, if Amnesty International has usurped the right to arbitrarily uphold "order" in other countries and interfere in any affair in case it is not

to its liking or contradicts its conceptions of law and order.

Disguising its true intentions behind the decent screen of its adherence to the provisions of the General Declaration of Human Rights, Amnesty International is virtually engaged in ideological subversive activities and falsifying the real state of affairs in socialist countries and the states which have chosen a noncapitalist way of development. As far as Ukraine is concerned, Amnesty International produces and disseminates various frauds under the trademark of *samizdat.* Indeed, these are *samizdat* publications because no one but Amnesty International and some other foreign organizations directed mostly by the American CIA turn out anything of the kind. In addition, Amnesty International has come forward as an advocate of the Slipijs, Pliushches, Karavanskies and other renegades who are presented abroad as champions of human rights or, according to Amnesty International, the former "prisoners of conscience".

Old people in Ukraine still remember what it was like in prerevolutionary Ukraine to appear before the court. Justice was administered slowly and unfairly: the poor would be rushed their last farthing, while the rich could even afford to hire a lawyer or, as common folk used to put it, to hire a liar.

True, nationalist dealers did not hire Amnesty International as an advocate. It acts voluntarily as a defender of anyone who is against the public or social order in Soviet Ukraine. In doing so Amnesty International is not squeamish about anything. Being unable to provide an example of prosecution or persecution of anyone in the Soviet Union for being differently minded, it rushes to defend those who, according to the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR and those of other Soviet Republics, are condemned for anti-Soviet propaganda. But as the number of such cases is

not enough for Amnesty International, it makes "prisoners of conscience" out of ordinary criminal offenders. It is done very simply: the names of persistent hooligans are fished out of Soviet periodicals and no sooner are they mentioned in Amnesty International's publications than they become "dissidents" or those convicted "illegally" on "fabricated charges". In case the number of hooligans is not enough, rapists and embezzlers of state property are also put on the list of "prisoners of conscience".

A spacious enclosure in the dirty stables of Amnesty International is given over to mentally diseased persons whom Amnesty International tries to protect and liberate as "dissidents". Without doubt, the priority in this should have been given to French organizations as the number of Napoleons among the mentally diseased considerably exceeds that of Churchills.

Naturally such "food" would not last anyone for long, so the voluntary advocates more often than not play the role of a liar from the court of the past who cares for nothing but money. Amnesty International has acted as a classic liar when "defending" Taras Mihal. For a long time it boiled with indignation demanding freedom to Mihal or at least some information about the place of confinement of this "prisoner of conscience". What epithets they didn't use to describe the prose-writer and ardent journalist, Taras Mihal: they called him "young" (while he was on the wrong side of fifty. But how could it be otherwise if this implied the persecution of the young) and a poet "illegally sentenced"...

Meanwhile, Taras Mihal lived a normal life right up to his very last day, fruitfully working and annually publishing his new books in Lviv.

When Mihal addressed an open letter to Amnesty International and refuted the fables of its liars, the nationalist underlings tried to prove that Amnesty International had not sent any letters in

his defense. Taras Mihal had no other recourse than to publish photocopies of the Amnesty International letter to demonstrate that both the liars and heir underlings indeed had made a blunder.

More than once Amnesty International has been caught telling lies, and yet it continues along the same line. One lie more or one lie less, they say, does not make any difference. Those who are up to their eyes in mud do not care about their looks. And lessons fail to teach them anything. Even today Amnesty International is not ashamed to come out in "defense" of "prisoners of conscience" in socilaist countries whom it has invented, following the principle: use more mendacious words and some people will probably bite.

To avoid repercussions of their own lies, Amnesty International very often begins its numerous letters in "defense" of criminal offenders, mentally diseased persons and other "victims" with clichés like these: "It has been brought to our attention...," "As we have been informed...," and son on. However hard the scribblers from Amnesty International may try to clear themselves or use the Declaration of Human Rights as a cover, their nature is fully revealed by their tendentious specialization to search for a mote in someone else's eye and by the assortment of means which they resort to and which have nothing to do with an "international" organization.

The bombastic name of Amnesty International conceals the true face of the organization which falls back on "grey" and "black" propaganda and other dirty methods of cold and psychological warfare. Honest people part ways with establishments of this sort. It is not accidental that most of the truly international, national and public organizations do not want to associate themselves with Amnesty International.

At the same time, hanging around Amnesty International is a motley bunch of foreign organ-

izations which are hostile to socialist countries and whose activities in the sphere of "defending human rights" are coordinated by this London-based organization with dozens of "national sections" and "branches" abroad.

Jostling among them are the OUN-z (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists abroad) and ZP UGVR (Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council) in whose activities provocations and fabrications occupy a dominant place. For instance, widely known is the ZP UGVR fraud concerning the so-called mandate which had been made up in Munich on behalf of the "leaders of the OUN-UPA in Ukraine". According to it foreign representatives of the nonexistent Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council were authorized to direct nationalist organizations in Munich and even those across the ocean, and what was more, it was to earn them authority in the eyes of their direct bosses from the American CIA.

To achieve an easily accessible outward effect, no matter if it is fugitive, other nationalist organizations also resort to the falsification of their authorities which allegedly come from the Soviet Ukrainian "underground", "like-minded persons" and other "circles", "groups", etc. Early in 1980, the Melnykite Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists temporarily took the lead in the foul play. On the pages of the Paris-based weekly *Ukrainske Slovo* (Ukrainian Word) they published their own version of the "mandate" on behalf of almost twenty "prisoners of conscience".

This, "one of the most remarkable documents of Ukrainian *samizdat*", as *Ukrainian Word* put it, was intended to give the OUN the authority to represent not only the above group of people abroad but the entire Ukraine. True, Melnykites did not venture to write the "mandate" in their own name but that of the President of the WCFU (World Congress of Free Ukrainians). However, it did not make much difference because the then

President of the WCFU and the head of the OUN was one and the same person — a trader in meat, a trader of his conscience and his native land, Mykola Plavyuk.

Among those who allegedly signed the "authority" for the President of the WCFU there were some persons whom Amnesty International lauded to the skies. One of them, Oles Berdnyk, became a "prisoner" long after the "mandate" was "signed", and Amnesty International itself acknowledged this fact in its report for 1980. But this is not the point. Berdnyk stated that he had never signed this "document of *samizdat*" and, what was more, that he had never seen it.

On March 14, 1984, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR pardoned Oles Berdnyk who, according to Soviet law, served his sentence for criminal activities. On becoming acquainted with the insinuations linked with his name, which appeared in the foreign press, Berdnyk made a public statement in the *Literaturna Ukraina* newspaper in May 1984. It ran as follows:

"I have happened to experience the bitterness of a fall, when the inadmissible irresponsibility in actions and the underestimation of the drastic laws of class struggle in the world arena, as well as distorted judgement of certain developments in the social life of the USSR led me to commit a grave crime against my Motherland, made it possible for (our) ideological foes to use my name, documents and correspondence in a hostile campaign of slander and abuse directed against my native country. I was punished in accordance with Soviet law...

"I have discerned in a true light the ominous designs of Western special services, their attempt to set up an organized 'opposition' in the USSR using it afterwards for stirring up in the West anti-Soviet hysteria in the press, over radio and television...

"Representatives of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists abroad, their newspapers and 'chronicles' burned incense to various latter-day 'oppositionists' wishing the only thing — to lay as much ideological dynamite as possible in the consience of the broad circles of Ukrainian emigrés and into the souls of unstable people in Soviet Ukraine...

"What used to be secret has become evident. I have realized that special services in the West tried to inspire the setting up of the so-called 'rights-defending' groups, and then to use them for making an impact upon the Western public opinion with a purpose inimical to socialism....

"I am coming back to myself, that is to my Motherland. I shall be with her forever in joys and sorrows!

"...The answer is clear. It is dictated by history. And the position of every honest man must be clear as well. Either to fall into the darkness of nonexistence along with the world of liars, mystifiers, tyrants and blood-suckers, or to strive for the creation of a strong foundation of human life — the creation which is difficult and intense but beautiful!

"I shall always go along this path!"

Priest Vasyl Romanyuk, whose name had been repeatedly mentioned by Amnesty International and its nationalist myrmidons, was yet another person who flatly denied his having been involved in the falsified authority for the name of the President of the WCFU.

In his statement, published in the Ivano-Frankivsk regional newspaper *Prikarpatska Pravda*, March 2, 1983, he wrote: "I want to tell all those who sympathize with my fate that I, thank God, have a possibility to solve my problems with my government and people without any outside assistance, and that is why I forbid anyone to use my name anywhere and in any form for anti-

Soviet propaganda spread to the detriment of the Soviet people and state!"

The name of the priest and the "prisoner of conscience", Vasyl Romanyuk, was repeatedly mentioned in company with the words "sufferer for Christ" and "for his convictions". One of the anti-Soviet campaigns connected with Romanyuk was directed by Mstyslav, the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOCh) in the U.S.A. Years back, under the secular name of Stepan Skrypnyk he was aide-de-camp of Simon Petlura, the leading pogrom-maker and the one who sold out Ukraine, also a representative of the nazi *Sonderkommando* responsible for setting up local offices under the nazis in the towns of Dubno and Rovno. In 1942, he became a bishop of the UAOCh which had been restored by the *Reichskommissar* of the occupied Ukraine Erich Koch. Messages flew to Washington, the Vatican, England, West Germany, France and other countries which presented Romanyuk as an "object of scoffing and persecution", a person "without means of subsistence", "deprived of the right to pray in public". Mstyslav even set afloat a rumour that Romanyuk was a man "with badly undermined health", thereby patently implying that he was near to "martyrdom".

To make it more pitiful, the nationalist newspaper *Svoboda* wrote about Romanyuk as an old man who had turned seventy, though he was actually much younger. They tried to "liberate" Vasyl Romanyuk for a long time after he had returned from exile to the place of his residence in Ivano-Frankivsk Region. The Toronto-based Banderaite newspaper *Homin Ukrainy* proclaimed a "Romanyuk month" and suggested that its readers should cut out the "appeal" and send it to the Foreign Minister of Canada requesting him to take neccessary measures to liberate this "famous political prisoner".

Vasyl Romanyuk has secondary theological education; in 1964 he became a priest. His arrest had nothing to do with his church order. He was punished by the court and found himself behind bars for the crime he had committed. Those whom Amnesty International and other "defenders" call "dissidents" played an important role in this. In company with some of them he served his sentence. He had enough time and possibility to get to know them better, those who incited him to commit a crime and, finally, helped him get behind bars. Strongly impressed by the extreme egoism, misanthropy and immorality of his former "idols", Romanyuk gradually came to clearly see the loathsome souls of the self-lovers consumed with megalomania.

For instance, Svyatoslav Karavansky, a "sufferer for an idea" as he is called abroad even today, nursed an idea of preparing a poison to give it to his competitors for "leadership". The name of Romanyuk was also on the list of future victims of this former cadet of a nazi spy school.

Vasyl Romanyuk gained an understanding of his deeds and other "dissidents' " in the long run. Speaking to the press Romanyuk said: "Not long ago I had many delusions and many errors" but, he went on, "with this statement I would like to assure certain Soviet organs and, as a priest, the leadership of our Orthodox Church, that I will never do anything in the future which could harm the Soviet state."

When "sympathizers" for Romanyuk's fate lost hope of his becoming a "martyr" or, at least, a God's fool, so as to "receive abuse from the people to the glory of God", they tried to persuade him to leave his native land and go abroad. In May 1982, nationalist newspapers informed that several citizens in Toronto, "members of the Ukrainian Graeco-Orthodox Church... undertook an official engagement to subsidize Vasyl Romanyuk's arrival to Canada." Romanyuk hesitated some time:

"Maybe it comes from the bottom of their hearts?" But he collected himself in time to realize that he was needed abroad as an instrument in anti-Soviet propaganda. He made a clear statement in this respect and added: "I do not want to leave my Motherland and have no need for doing so."

For a long time Vasyl Romanyuk's name was used as a trump-card by players from the reactionary circles in capitalist countries: Amnesty International, the Melnykite, Banderaite and "foreign" OUNs, from the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, the Graeco-Orthodox, Catholic, Anglican and Evangelical churches, the baptist association in the U.S.A. and... heaven only knows from where else.

Nevertheless, Vasyl Romanyuk's statement knocked the trumps out of the hands of foreign "mourners", thus showing the true unattractive face of swindlers and falsifiers.

Under the influence of Vasyl Romanyuk's statement, a citizen of Ivano-Frankivsk, Petro Antonovich, in 1983 sent a letter to the *Prikarpatska Pravda* newspaper saying: "If at all possible, publish my letter so that people could know the truth about Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and my attitude towards it."

In the letter Petro Antonovich pointed out that he came from the family of a Uniate priest, that he was a pensioner, but some time earlier he had almost taken the path of anti-Soviet activities hostile to his people. According to Antonovich this almost happened due to the influence of "anti-Soviet foreign broadcasts transmitted by the Voice of America, Radio Liberty and BBC." Clothing parcels, a pittance, not disinterested of course, from relatives and strangers abroad, also played a certain role in forming Antonovich's negative sentiments.

A human being must be a human being, and not a pawn in someone else's hands, especially so

if these hands are stained with the blood of innocent victims, as is the case with Petro Antonovich's "sympathizers" abroad. His letter runs: "I accuse the activities of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists both abroad and in Ukraine, and I assure you that they and I are going down different roads.

"I refuse the parcels from abroad, for I realize that these doles abase me as a Soviet man."

Of late, in connection with the forthcoming thousandth anniversary of the introduction of christianity in the State of Old Rus, Ukrainian churches abroad have launched a frantic campaign which they accompany with profuse talk about the "suppression" of the freedom of conscience and human rights in the Soviet Union.

In 1985, *Prikarpatska Pravda* published a letter of the former Uniate priest, Mikhailo Matiytsiv, which read as follows: "For a long time I had been devoted to the ideas of the Uniate church and its leadership. But today I see that I was mistaken in full measure. Fanatically blinded by faith, I was unwilling to see what was being done for the welfare of the people in our country...

"I accuse the antipopular activities of the Graeco-Catholic Church's pastors, those of the OUNites who, as traitors and accomplices of the Hitlerite invaders, worked for the benefit of nazi Germany and took part in murdering innocent people, trying to incite the Ukrainian population against Soviet power. And now, serving their new master — American imperialism — they do not renounce their old impious designs...

"The Ukrainian people love their Soviet power and can defend it against any sort of encroachment. It is the most humane. No other in the world gives the working people what it does...

"We live in the Soviet land and must keep to the laws of this country. Especially today, when imperialism threatens the world with a nuclear

war, all of us must unite and be for one cause along with our power."

Meanwhile, Amnesty International and its subordinate "rights-defending" organizations continue to spread slander, to write and speak about the "violations" of human rights and, specifically, the freedom of conscience in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to search for "prisoners of conscience" and "martyrs".

Today, Amnesty International sends round letters and various voluminous materials containing self-advertising bragging of its "disinterested" and "noble" activities in defense of freedom and human rights.

The Amnesty International flowery phraseology is unable to conceal the true anticommunist orientation of its activities. Amnesty International and other anticommunist organizations under its control are silent or, in a pinch, with a partial bow to the rulers, speak about the crying infringements of human rights in the capitalist world. At the same time they flagrantly attack law and order in socialist countries, hunt out moral freaks, instigate certain citizens to anti-Soviet actions and violation of public order. During more than the twenty five years of its existence, Amnesty International has presented itself as an organizer and coordinator of slanderous campaigns intended to undermine legitimate order in socialist countries and other states disagreeable to Amnesty International and its masters.

All the activities of foreign "human rights defenders" are marked with the brand of sacrilege. While ignoring human rights and interests, they awkwardly attempt to fan psychological warfare against the Soviet Union and socialist community as such.

Amnesty International annually reports on the "successes" achieved, but the Soviet people and citizens of other socialist countries have never authorized it and will never authorize it to inter-

fere in their domestic affairs. The efforts of subversive services are doomed. And this is affirmed in the ideological devotion and political vigilance of the Soviet people, their ability to identify the enemy and disclose its criminal actions regardless of the "devout" cover under which it hides itself.

UNDER THE COVER OF WACL

In 1848, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels put forward the first program of the international communist movement — Manifesto of the Communist Party — which theoretically substantiated the historic role of the revolutionary proletariat in creating a new, more developed social order. Corroborated by real accomplishments, theoretical communism has been victoriously marching throughout the globe ever since, in spite of the vigorous resistance of the bourgeoisie and their lackeys.

In the almost one hundred and fifty years, anticommunist intrigues have assumed different forms ranging from ideological struggle, infiltrating agents provocateurs into party organizations with the aim of corrupting them from within, and assassinations of communist leaders and activists on the sly, to the persecution of communist parties which has become a state policy line in certain countries.

Over the years since WW II, the communist movement in a number of capitalist countries has gained in scope to such an extent that it is no longer an underground movement and has won the right to legal participation in all spheres of political and state activities. On the other hand, this has specified to a large measure the current tactics of anticommunists who only in words recognize the right of communist parties to existence and organizational activities, but in fact hound their members and adherents all the time. For the

purpose they use various declassé and criminal groups which abound in the countries of the so-called free Western world. Quite a few of these groups are united into the World Anti-Communist League (WACL). At different stages of its existence, the WACL pushed various nationalist groups abroad into the foreground and each time, when its activities became more vigorous, one could observe a surprising connection between this activation and certain foreign policy actions on the part of the ruling reactionary circles in capitalist countries, particularly in the United States.

The geography of the WACL conferences provides an idea of the foreign policy encroachments of the international reactionary forces. Had it been in their power they would have transferred their actions and conferences into the territories of the countries which, according to their terminology, are communist. But for the time being, they rush all over the world in search of places in the vicinity of "hot" spots — in Taipei, Saigon, Seoul, Tokyo, London, or in the United States itself as in the fall of 1985 when the WACL anticommunists met in the notorious city of Dallas to uphold the spreading of poisonous chauvinistic sentiments.

It was not by mere chance that in November 1985 the path of WACL and that of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League (APACL), an organization closely connected with the WACL, were traced to India where the police had arrested a smart businessman of Delhi, Rama Svarup. Strictly speaking, only by stretching the point can he be called a Delhi businessman, for he did reside in Delhi but had sold himself to India's enemies much earlier. His activities proceeded under the outwardly inexpressive but transparent enough cover of a "representative of the Far-Eastern trade service with headquarters in Taipei, Taiwan, the Republic of China". The sign alone on Rama Svarup's office testified to the outspoken pro-

Taiwan (or to be more precise, pro-American) sympathies if its owner.

Having considered the case in more detail, the police found out that Rama Svarup had been the head of the APACL Indian branch and took a direct part in anti-Indian activities of the World Anti-Communist League. A month and a half before he was arrested, Mr. Svarup had gone to the U.S.A. to take part in a WACL conference.

It became known as well that Mr. Svarup was a CIA agent engaged in espionage against India. His work was directed by the Delhi CIA residency where he was on the list under the code number 72. His being a representative of the Far-Eastern trade service was most actively exploited by Svarup for selling materials which contained state secrets. This, as a matter of fact, was the cause of his arrest.

During the arrest, documents were withdrawn from Svarup covering the activities of the government commission investigating the circumstances of the terrorist act on October 31, 1985 when the Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, was assassinated. From the bill of indictment on Svarup's case, published in January 1986, it follows that the CIA used Svarup for bribing and influencing the lawyers of Indira Gandhi's assassins. The aim pursued was to divert the investigation from the fact testifying that outside forces took part in the Prime Minister's assassination.

An end was put to the spy activities and provocative intrigues of Rama Svarup, a CIA agent, Hindu chauvinist, and an activist of the World Anti-Communist League. The end of this spy-subversive shady affair proved to be a graphic illustration of the activities of the WACL, APACL and other anticommunist organizations directed by one and the same center — the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States.

The World Anti-Communist League and the organizations it controls become energetic when

they succeed in getting additional grants or if they have to fight their competitors. However, they particularly energize their activities when demanded to counter anyway they can important events in the internal or external life of the Soviet Union, its constructive proposals and measures. The intensity of the above organizations' activities is, therefore, a barometer of sorts by which one can judge with a great degree of probability the rises and falls in the foreign policy activities of the ruling circles in the U.S.A. and other imperialist countries.

As a matter of fact, it has been thus since the first days after the socialist revolution was accomplished in bourgeois-landlord Russia, when the workers, peasants and revolutionary soldiers came to power. The imperialist yes-men began to foretell a near end to the power of the working people, while the enemies of the Soviet Land, not confining themselves to prophesies, embarked upon provocations and armed aggression. When the "position-of-strength policy" turned out a complete fiasco, they chose the tactics of ideological subversion and other undermining activities.

National celebrations of revolutionary holidays in the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Cuba and other countries, which according to imperialist "strategists" are their No. 1 enemies, are a constant "irritant" for foreign anticommunist organizations. The confidence of the working people in the correctness of the path chosen and their being firmly resolved to mark memorable events with work and creative achievements give rise to outbursts of rage among those who would like to destroy everything created by the people's labor and their intellect.

Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists developed an extraordinary activity in 1982 when the USSR celebrated the 60th anniversary of its formation. The plan of actions included in the appeal of the Ukrainian Liberation Front Organizations

(OUVF), which was printed in various nationalist publications on May 23, 1982, called for anti-Soviet actions to be carried out in "different ways and forms — manifestations, demonstrations, scientific conferences, etc.— in all countries where Ukrainians reside".

It should be pointed out that the subversive activities of the Ukrainian Liberation Front Organizations are actually inspired by reactionary circles and intelligence services in the imperialist states. The OUVF headquarters is situated in the U.S.A., and the alliance itself mostly consists of Banderaite groups active on the territory of the United States of America. The Ukrainian Liberation Front Organizations were among the first to back the "crusade" against communism proclaimed by the U.S. President so as to dump Marxism-Leninism onto the ash heaps of history.

The fact that the OUVF appeal was published a half month before Ronald Reagan delivered his provocative speech to the British Parliament speaks of one thing: the leaders of OUVF and other antisocialist organizations were given appropriate instructions at the State Department, the U.S. Mission to the UN or just by their immediate bosses from the CIA or FBI. A familiar situation repeated itself not for the first time: by the ruler's will, nationalist saboteurs again found themselves in the "vanguard".

The escalation of spy-subversive activities of nazi Germany's nationalist lackeys against Czechoslovakia and Poland preceded the invasion of these countries by the nazis in 1938—1939 exactly in the same way. The same happened at other times as well: bosses set the nationalist rabble on the objects they themselves had selected beforehand. But the "strength" of nationalist organizations is certainly not the point. The problem consists in the fact that the imperialist forces do all they can to mobilize everyone and everything without exception to achieve their end. It was not nationalist

saboteurs, after all, who could noticeably influence the course of nazi Germany's aggression against Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Soviet Union, or Reagan's global "crusade" against socialist countries.

Elaborating the provisions set forth in the calls of the OUVF, the leader of the Units Abroad of the OUN, Yaroslav Stetsko, wrote in July 1982 the following in his so-called organizational letter addressed to his subordinates: "The principal task that we put before ourselves is: how to stir the masses of people of the enslaved nations... to struggle for breaking down the empire and the system under totalitarianism? From the viewpoint of mobilization by means of information, the radio is to play the main role...

"The policy of the U.S.A. is partially changing in our favor, and proof of this was Yaroslav Stetsko's appearance in the U.S. Congress where seventy-two congressmen and senators listened to his speech on the occasion of the Act of June 30, 1941. He also was officially received by the leader of the House of Representatives... An interview welldisposed towards Ukraine was published by the *Washington Post*...

"A similar thing took place in the Parliament of Great Britain where Yaroslav Stetsko also delivered a speech and was welcomed by... the Labor MP Witlock and the Conservative MP McMillan, son of the former Premier. In the U.S. Congress Yaroslav Stetsko was introduced and welcomed by the Congressman Derwinski, a Republican of Polish descent, as well as by Congressman Stratton, Democrat."

The OUN leader resorted to speculation in the name of Ukraine just to gain practical results in his spy-subversive activity for the good of the American CIA and West German BND. Therefore, if Stetsko's self-advertising scribble is stripped of its fraudulent and demagogic terminology, little more than a naked provocation with the evident

seal of the CIA and that of the BND will remain.

The antimeasures on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR were summed up at the 15th conference of the World Anti-Communist League in December 1982. Empty and bombastic calls and publications repeated many times by the press and the radio proved powerless to harm the Soviet Union or, at least, to dampen the spirit of the Soviet people and their friends in other countries. That is why the main subject on the agenda were questions connected with the "global strategy" of fighting communism, the Soviet Union and the countries of socialist community.

The APACL (Asian People's Anti-Communist League) and the AYACL (Asian Youth Anti-Communist League) were also invited to participate in the conference. The gallery of puppets which rallied to the conference was reinforced by the ex-Premier of South Vietnam, the former Air Force Marshal, Nguyen Cao Ky, and by some other have-beens.

The Asian bias of the conference can be explained by the fact that the WACL, for the first time in its history, was given the possibility of holding its meeting on Japanese soil, in Tokyo. Naturally, there were more than enough anticommunists there from non-Asian states, namely from the United States of America, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany.

Had the hosts of the conference inquired who they had offered hospitality to, and had they looked upon the conference and its resolutions without anti-Soviet prejudice, they would have easily discerned their racial and misanthropic nature. The hosts, perhaps, did take all this into consideration, or were even interested in whipping up anticommunist and anti-Soviet sentiments among certain circles of their fellow-countrymen. However, be that as it may, the assemblage of the refined profascist representatives of the WACL-APACL-

AYACL left a malignant, swastika-shaped ulcer upon the body of the Land of the Rising Sun.

The daily *Sekai Nippon* and other Tokyo newspapers presented this assemblage as a conference of "delegates of captive nations and peoples threatened by communism", though even after superficial acquaintance with the printed materials on the conference, one was struck with the abundance of fascist terminology of the period of the criminal Anti-Comintern Pact between nazi Germany and imperialist Japan.

And this is not surprising, for taking part in the Tokyo conference were numerous war criminals. One of them, who jostled in the halls of the Keyo Plaza Hotel, was the former nazi collaborationist Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the leader of the terrorist OUN. Was *Sekai Nippon* aware of the fact that by featuring Stetsko's interview, it was thereby presenting to its readers a misanthrope and an outright adherent of nuclear war?

Today, a number of specially hired "biographers" spare no efforts to "denazify" Stetsko's personality in the public eyes after his death, even if they have to use demagogy, half-truths and outright lies.

The thesis that "Stetsko was a prisoner of nazi concentration camps" is played up in different ways. At the same time, not a single word is said about his responsibility for the murder of thousands of Ukrainians, Poles and Jews who were tortured to death in Lviv Region in June and July 1941 under the supervision of Mykola Lebed and Roman Shukhewich, members of Stetsko's "government".

The war ended for Stetsko with a wound he got during an American air raid on a column of SS-men who tried to escape into the mountains and forests to continue their fight against the Soviet Union and its allies in the anti-Hitlerite coalition. The fact that Stetsko did not have time to take a

direct part in the activity of the terrorist *Werewolf*, which had been designed by the SS leadership, does not absolve him from his being a war criminal. It is common knowledge that by decision of the Nuremberg Trials in 1946 the nazi SS guard detachments were recognized to be criminal, and its members as those who committed crimes.

Authoritative state commissions of the Soviet Union, the Polish People's Republic and Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic, as well as hundreds of trials have irrefutably proved that the nazi toadies from the so-called Ukrainian Insurgent Army were engaged in criminal activities directed against civilian population. When Stetsko and his former "superior" Stepan Bandera found themselves in Munich, they did not conceal the fact that they had taken part in the activities of the UPA, the more so they had presented themselves as inspirers and leaders of these terrorist-subversive detachments. Both Bandera and Stetsko repeatedly stressed this in their speeches, letters and publications, to say nothing of unofficial statements they made to English, American, French and West German intelligence services.

As one of the leaders of the UPA abroad resold to English and American subversive and spying services by Bandera and himself, Stetsko was responsible for the atrocities committed by the UPA in the first postwar years in Soviet Ukraine, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Stetsko's "biographers" will surely fail to justify him by saying that he personally did not participate in any of the UPA actions aimed at the extermination of people.

English and American lawyers at one time put forward a principle according to which those who "only directed" massacres and the torture of people but did not take part in these actions personally did not fall within jurisdiction. It even came to the fact that after two years of work (1942—1944) the joint English-American war crimes investiga-

tion commission presented a list of 184 war criminals excluding from it the name of the chief war criminal Adolf Hitler on the grounds that he did not directly participate in the extermination of people.

What can we then say of subordinate war criminals? They were given an indulgence from punishment for their crimes against humanity and then hundreds and thousands of them were renamed to become "refugees", "displaced persons", and "loyal" subjects or citizens of Great Britain, the U.S.A. and other capitalist countries. The former SS-men and nazi collaborationists were largely employed as cheap manpower or, in many cases, as it came to be known in connection with the Klaus Barbier case, as spies, subversive agents and agents provocateurs employed by the American CIA, British Secret Intelligence Service, West German *Bundesnachrichtendienst* and other subversive and espionage services. It is they who call for a "crusade" against the countries of the socialist community to put the people they hate under modified fascist yoke. According to Yaroslav Stetsko's confession he would gladly go as far as to have "two-thirds of the Ukrainian territory destroyed by an atom bomb" just to achieve this.

The present-day leaders of nationalist organizations abroad, like their forerunner Stetsko, do not care who they are selling Ukraine to, or what the fate of the Ukrainian people will be. For conjuncture reasons, however, they try to conceal their criminal intentions with respect to Ukraine. For the same reasons they try to keep silent about their former leader's, Stetsko's, misanthropic statements. Incidentally, Stetsko flew into a rage at the mention of the fact that the Ukrainian people were masters of their own land. He said in this respect: "Let the entire communist Ukraine die out, and new cadres will come from Toronto, London, Madrid..." What sort of cadres was implied one can judge by what the Toronto-based newspa-

per *Homin Ukrainy* wrote in 1977 about a third world war: "Even if half of humanity, or even more, have to die in this war, we don't believe it would be too high a price..."

In his trip to Tokyo Yaroslav Stetsko was accompanied by his wife, known under the nickname of "Mukha" (Fly) who keeps on speaking without a break of the necessity "to utterly overthrow communism and unleash a third world war."

The nazi lick-spittles of the Stetsko type furnished the Tokyo anticommunist kite with a swastika, the fascist emblem they carried through their lives. The fact that the anticommunist of Japanese descent, R. Osami Kuboki, was elected the new president of the league did not give a local coloring to the WACL conference, though there appeared one more rein in the connections between the Japanese revanchists and American reactionary circles.

The WACL kite is nothing when compared with the nonconstitutional transformations of the Japanese "self-defense forces" into a regular army, or with the domination in Japan of the American Lockheed Aircraft Corporation which buys foreign industrial companies or even premiers wholesale, as it happened with the former Prime Minister Tanaki. However, the reins from the supermodern Lockheed spy-aircraft and the kites with the seal of savage anticommunism are in the same hands. Be that as it may, the work of the WACL-APACL-AYACL conference in Tokyo and its resolutions are evidently stamped with the seal of the American pretender to the role of universal gendarme. That this is really so is proved by the resolutions passed and comments made at the conference. Here are some excerpts:

"We insist that the U.S.A. take the lead in determining the global anticommunist strategy."

The conference "calls on the countries of Western Europe to immediately break the agreement

(with the Soviet Union — V. S.) on the construction of gas pipelines...", etc.

If we try to answer the question "Who profits from that?" everything becomes more than clear.

"One of the main reports at the conference", as was defined in the official communication, entitled *Liberation: New Strategy for the Free World*, was delivered by the retired American Major General John K. Singlaub, the leader of the so-called American Council for World Freedom (ACWF) and the head of "the North American region within the WACL system". The Munich-based newspaper *Shlyakh Peremohy* (The Way to Victory) wrote the following about the report: "General Singlaub suggested that the West should launch an anti-Bolshevik political and psychological offensive... General John Singlaub also read the cable from American President Ronald Reagan in which the U.S. President greeted the participants at the conference and wished them success so that they could strengthen the joint efforts of all freedom-loving nations for the ultimate victory over the world communist threat."

The wording and tone of the U.S. President's cable-instruction, as well as the fact itself that it was sent to one of the dirtiest world anticommunist assemblages, undeniably demonstrate whose hands control the strings of the WACL, APACL and other yes-men of the American hawks who, by pulling those strings, switch on speaking-trumpets which throw out slanderous inventions about the "Soviet military threat", call for political, psychological and economic warfare against the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and, in general, against all the states which have chosen a noncapitalist way of development.

The WACL conference in Tokyo and its "global strategy" of offensive aimed at communism did not exert a noticeable influence on the mobilization of reactionary forces under the banners of the anticommunist "crusade". As before, the

WACL is busy working out an all-embracing "strategy" envisaging the enlisting of various assistants under its command.

The World Anti-Communist League was actually the master of the London "international conference" held in November 1985 and attended by representatives of as many as two extremely right-wing organizations: the European Freedom Council and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. The conference had been prepared by the nationalist Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, for its head, the leader of the Units Abroad of the OUN, Yaroslav Stetsko, not only headed the ABN but was the vice-president of the European Freedom Council.

At the London conference yet another attempt was made to work out a new "strategy for defense and liberation" involving vast territories and the most diverse strata of the population. It was not by chance that decisions and resolutions of the EFC-ABN conference abounded in military terminology, beginning with the "strategy of defense". The point was that one of the important coauthors of these decisions was the representative of the WACL, retired General Singlaub, who had arrived in London with "strategic" instructions designed beforehand across the ocean. Ten years have passed since the ultrabellicose general was retired, but this fact notwithstanding, he continues to see daydreams today, remaining in "the midst of war" and presenting his delirious visions as really existing facts. In his time, in 1977, the U.S. President Jimmy Carter dismissed Mr. Singlaub from his post in the Armed Forces for the general's more than sharp criticism of the decision to cut the U.S. troops' strength in Korea. Thus, the general's extremely warlike character cost him his military career. So he had to change horses. The point is that Mr. Singlaub's main profession was and continues to be espionage and subversive activities. When on active service, he was also

engaged in this trade, especially after WW II. Here are a few lines from his biography complaisantly printed in the nationalist *Ukrainian Quarterly* No. 3. 1982: "He was head of the China section of the CIA; taught at the Fort Benning Ranger Training Center; during the Korean war he served as deputy chief of the CIA Mission..."

Thus, John Singlaub used the rank of a U.S. general just as a cover, working, in reality, for Allen Welsh Dulles's creation — the Central Intelligence Agency. Now he also works for the CIA which is evinced by his present-day frantic activity in the provocative and subversive spheres under the smoke screen of the World Anti-Communist League which he and his bosses from Langley have laid their hands on of late.

Considering himself to be in a state of war with anything non-American and which, in his words, is flatly termed as communism, the retired general calls for a merciless struggle against the "enemy". The above-mentioned *Ukrainian Quarterly* also published an article by John Singlaub which contained a dictum characteristic of his world outlook: "...It is a revolutionary, total war. It knows no truce and can only end if one of the antagonistic camps is totally defeated."

Speaking in public, General Singlaub tried more than once to give recipes as to how the "antagonistic camp" to which he belongs can achieve world supremacy. This, above all, implies the construction of space arms systems and the future "Star Wars". At the same time Mr. Singlaub insists on the necessity to loosen the socialist system by quarreling one nation with another and setting up other complications within the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. He spoke about this, in particular, when he appeared before a Canadian audience on December 1, 1984. As rather many Ukrainian nationalists who had settled in Canada came to listen to his gibberish, Mr. Singlaub sang praises of the OUN and the

Ukrainian Insurgent Army and their postwar activities in Ukraine's western regions, the activities for which the Ukrainian people cursed these traitors and cutthroats.

John Singlaub arrived at the EFC-ABN conference in London immediately after the assemblage of the World Anti-Communist League completed its work in Dallas in September 1985. This time the WACL came forward with a statement which expressed their full support of "resistance movements" which, according to WACL, embraced a motley group of counterrevolutionary organizations like the Cuban *gusanos*, Afghan *dushmans*, anti-Kampuchean Pol Pot bands, and Nicaraguan *contras*. The WACL joined in the hysterical campaign to back the Washington Administration in their striving to get millions of dollars from U.S. Congress and pass them over to the antipopular but pro-American "resistance movements".

In an interview to the *U.S. News & World Report* in 1985, Mr. Singlaub confessed that the organization which he headed was a mediator between the U.S. Administration and the Samosa *contras* and that several million dollars had been remitted to Nicaragua's counterrevolutionaries via the WACL. In its turn, the World Anti-Communist League launched a campaign to "raise money all over the world" for the needs of the murderers from criminal organizations whom Washington rulers call none other than "freedom fighters".

To avoid unnecessary misunderstanding and gossip about the new money extortion, John Singlaub resorted to an extreme measure: he hastened to announce that the idea of a new fund raising drive "was prompted by the White House officials".

However, this is not surprising. First, the White House sent an encouraging address to the WACL conference in Dallas, wishing the league every success in its anticommunist activities. Second, the U.S. President himself twisted the arms of Congress and those of individual recalcitrant

congressmen, demanding that they vote for the appropriation of additional millions of dollars for counterrevolutionaries. As compared with this the instruction of "the White House officials" is just a trifle. At the same time, Mr. Singlaub's confession that he gets instructions from the White House demonstrates once again who the actual master of the "independent" and "nonprofit" WACL is.

It does not make much difference if John Singlaub got the order from some other lower office in the Washington Administration, for he has obviously not matured yet for direct contacts with the White House. The fact that the WACL is subordinated to Washington's services is the point. And if the retired general just meant to add to his "importance" and "influence", let it be on his conscience if, naturally, he has one.

It has become known of late that the WACL headed by the bellicose extremist John Singlaub was involved in terrorist actions. According to the press, with reference to the statement made by the TF-I French TV Company, the tracks of the terrorists who assassinated the prominent political figure, Prime Minister of Sweden, Olof Palme, on February 28, 1986, lead to the World Anti-Communist League, in particular, to its Scandinavian neo-nazi branch.

There is no doubt today that the activities of the WACL and its component organizations are subversive in character. And this becomes even more obvious if one closely looks at its leaders and activists in whose midst there are many war criminals and all sorts of nazi collaborationists.

A place of note in the WACL hierarchy was occupied by the war criminal Yaroslav Stetsko up to his very last day. A frequent guest on the presidium of the WACL conferences is Theodor Oberländer. After the war this former *Gauamtsleiter*, head of the regional nazi party department, *Hauptmann*, and officer of *Abwehr 2* section, political leader of the subversive units *Nachtigall,*

Bergman, Tamara I and *Tamara II*, found himself in the chair of a minister of the Federal Republic of Germany. Only owing to the pressure of the public indignant at such impudence, and the resounding case which followed, was he made to retire.

From the above it follows that the World Anti-Communist League is subordinated, directly or indirectly, to espionage and subversive services of the United States and some other Western capitalist countries. Following their directions to coordinate activities of various foreign anticommunist organizations, it instigates their members to criminal acts against the peoples and sovereign governments of socialist and nonaligned countries which have chosen their own, noncapitalist way of development.

3. Executors

CONTRACTORS

The expansionist policy of U.S. ruling circles and their disregard for the interests of various nations cannot but call forth natural resistance on the part of the world public. Freedom-loving peoples cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that their sovereign countries' internal affairs are being interfered in. At the same time precisely such method has become a norm in the foreign policy of the Washington Administration and their allies. It is dictated, in particular, by doctrines which are associated with the 40th U.S. President Ronald Reagan and which, under the cover of his concern about "national interests", proclaim the United States' right to illegal actions including the use of military force in any region of the globe.

Such behavior of the official America directly contradicts the Charter of the United Nations, whose Chapter I, Article 2, paragraph 4 reads as follows: "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations."

As a result, the U.S.A. and other countries adherent to the aggressive expansionist policy more and more often find themselves in isolation, taking the offensive against the UN proper and its specialized agencies as it happened, for instance, with UNESCO.

In many cases the official authorities instruct their subordinate organizations to carry out political and subversive actions which they work out themselves. Depending on what these organizations are supposed to do, they act as "private", "independent", or under some other cover.

Thus, performing the role of contractors, these "independent" groups and organizations try to take as much power in hand as possible within the limits of the allotted work. The notorious Amer-

ican Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism acted in the same manner.

It emerged as the American Committee for Fighting for Free Russia in 1948 and was then headed by the former UPI correspondent in Moscow Eugene Lions. In 1951, it was officially renamed as the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism and the fact that Allan G. Kirk, a regular serviceman and an intelligence officer, the U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1949—1951, was appointed its head speaks of the importance which its organizers attached to the committee. A year later, Mr. Kirk was replaced by the experienced secret agent, the former military attaché in Moscow Admiral Lesli Stivens.

In addition, among the committee's members were such well-known hawks as the former U.S. supreme commissar in West Germany John Jay McCloy, the military governor of the American occupational authorities in Germany Lucius Du Bignon Clay, the brothers John Foster Dulles and Allen Welsh Dulles who in 1952 took the post of the State Secretary and that of the director of the Central Intelligence Agency respectively.

At a time when the brothers Dulles held their posts, the American Committee became an ideal contractor of the State Department and CIA.

The committee's heads changed as did its official names. Finally, it was named The American Committee for Liberation discarding as something unnecessary the explanation from whom the ACL was going to liberate the Soviet people. The nature of the committee, however, as well as the essence of its anti-Soviet subversive actions, remained unchanged.

The American Committee for Liberation claimed the role of "the government of emigré governments", using antisocialist groups of different nationalities as a vivifying medium for fostering obedient executors of its will.

When the activities of the ACL proved to be utterly compromised and bankrupt, it formally stopped to exist, handing its functions over to the Liberty Committee. On March 1, 1953, Radio Liberty, on its own behalf and not as an executive body of the ACL, began to broadcast instructions as to how subversive work was to be carried out against the governments of socialist countries, trying to coordinate the actions of separate groups and individuals inimically disposed to the governments and socialist system in their countries.

At first the radio station managed to some extent to conceal its direct links with the CIA, but today even official government bodies do not waste efforts to camouflage the Liberty's espionage and subversive character. Since 1972, Radio Liberty and its sister Radio Free Europe have been officially financed by the U.S. Treasury and not by "private funds" as was advertised in the past. Earlier, though, open statements were also made in the press about direct contacts between these radio stations and the CIA. Thus, for instance, Kliffort Kais, member of the U.S. Senate Commission on Appropriations and Foreign Affairs said that the radio stations' main portion of the budget... was made up of direct subsidies from the CIA. The senator claimed in particular that in 1969 the CIA paid the radio stations over thirty million dollars.

Earlier, the CIA financed Liberty and Free Europe also, but it was only in 1969 that this fact became a subject for open discussion when the U.S. Congress commenced considering whether the CIA allocations were expedient.

Even before then, it was known that everyone employed by Liberty had to sign, on pain of a heavy fine and imprisonment for up to ten years, an obligation not to divulge the fact that the radio station had been organized by the CIA and functioned under its direction.

Thus, numerous facts and statements made by

official figures and former employees of Radio Liberty bear irrefutable witness to the fact that it serves as a CIA screen and contractor. It had been conceived to play this role and continues to do so now, and, besides, its espionage and subversive functions gain in scope with time.

Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe and other subversive radio voices are waging outspoken psychological warfare inciting citizens in socialist countries to antigovernment demonstrations, directing them at the objects to be attacked in the first place, and instructing them of the tactics and methods of antigovernment and antinational activities.

The direct coresponsibility for the criminal acts of the subversive radio stations of the Radio Liberty type is borne by the departments and governments of the states which finance and direct the activities of their contractors.

For almost half a century, the international convention on the use of radio broadcasts for peaceful purposes has been in existence. The signatories to the convention, including the Soviet Union, committed themselves to prevent broadcasts instigating war, and also any programs which could harm mutual understanding between countries by way of inciting the population on any territory to actions incompatible with the internal order or security of each of the treaty sides.

The convention envisages the use of radio, this wonderful discovery made by man, exclusively in the interests of peace. Its provisions are fully in keeping with the universally recognized documents of the United Nations, UNESCO, and the Concluding Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. But this joint recognition is exactly what the Washington Administration dislikes. It actually tries to sap the UN, the Helsinki Accords and other covenants and international legal documents at one time signed by the official representatives of the U.S.A.. As

far as the above convention is concerned, the United States did not recognize it, thereby reserving the right to exploit radio for fanning animosity between nations, for undermining international cooperation, inciting and provoking antigovernment demonstrations, i. e. to use radio for the interference in the internal affairs of other sovereign states. The United States' deeds of this kind increase its isolation in the international arena, and lead to the development of racist, chauvinistic and other extreme right-wing sentiments in the country.

Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist groups put by the U.S. VIPs on their list of "friends" may feel quite at ease in such a stuffy atmosphere. One can easily conclude this from the statement made by R. Armitidge, assistant on international security of the U.S. Secretary of Defense. Speaking on May 8, 1985, at the subcommittee on operations abroad under the Senate Appropriations Committee, he said that an enemy of the U.S. enemy could be sure of U.S. friendship provided it shared American ideals in its opposition to the U.S. enemy.

Regrettably, this is not only R. Armitidge's personal position. This is a long-standing and fundamental principle in the attitude of the Washington rulers to the issue of using any kind of scum if only they be pro-American.

Following such principles, the American authorities have long been using the services of war criminals, nazis, Gestapo and SS-men, to say nothing of the hordes of nazi collaborationists who, having settled down in the United States, have been brought together at numerous brotherhoods and associations.

Exactly such personnel were used to man various departments of the official Voice of America (VOA) and the CIA ward, Radio Liberty, the radio stations transmitting subversive broadcasts in Ukrainian.

When in March 1964 Michael Terpak was appointed chief of the Ukrainian service of the VOA, the United States Information Agency advertised him as a "freedom champion". One of the advertising letters of the agency, signed by George W. Wellde, indicated that "most recently he (Terpak) has been linked with the American Committee for Liberation, parent organization of Radio Liberty. In his new position, Mr. Terpak will be responsible for agency broadcasts in Ukrainian, one of seventeen languages used by the VOA to reach listeners in the Soviet Union."

George W. Wellde could not resist the temptation to disclose the whole system of the USIA, so he wrote in the same letter: "To ensure a consistently reliable signal, the VOA uses 101 transmitters located in the U.S. and at nine key sites overseas. At the present time transmitters in England are being strengthened fivefold and new facilities are planned for the installation in Greece. Upon completion of these facilities later this year, VOA programs will be clearly heard throughout the Ukraine regardless of atmospheric conditions.

"In addition to radio, the USIA uses all the techniques of modern mass communication. press, television, exhibits, libraries, the arts and, most important, personal contacts by its officers overseas to gain support for American policies. At 228 posts in 106 countries around the world, some 1,500 agency offices are hard at work as spokesmen for America."

No doubt the above revelations provide a graphic illustration of how the U.S. exploits radio and other means of mass communication for interfering in other countries' internal affairs. Thus it is clear why the U.S. refuses to ratify the international convention on the use of broadcasts in the interests of peace, why it comes out against international legal documents according to which the use of force, especially military force, is re-

garded to be inadmissible for imposing one's will on other nations and sovereign states. True, Mr. Wellde tried to give his advertising letter a more or less decent form.

VOA veritable objectives were displayed more frankly and cynically in many other statements and publications, including those made by various "national" groups which found refuge in the U.S. and are presently conducting subversive work against the peoples they had betrayed.

Inferior organizations and radio stations of the Radio Liberty type are assigned even more abominable functions.

A year prior to Mr. Terpak's new assignment in the Voice of America, he had been given an award for his services to the American Committee for Liberation. As deputy director of the special projects department, Terpak had served with the American Committe for ten years. In January 1963, the award was handed over to him by the former president of the American Committee for Liberation and, later, president of the Radio Liberty Agency, Howland H. Sargeant. In his speech on the occasion, Mr. Sargeant announced new increases in Radio Liberty's signal strength, scheduled to be put into effect in 1963. The Ukrainian nationalist newspaper *Svoboda* wrote the following about that speech on January 26, 1963: "According to the President's report, the installation of new antennas directed at the Iron Curtain will enable Radio Liberty 'to carpet the European part of the Soviet Union wall-to-wall' with its around-the-clock broadcasts. At present, this freedom network sends a radio signal into the USSR that has an intensity greater than that of any free world broadcaster to this target area.

"Radio Liberty is also known as 'the free voice of the peoples of the Soviet Union.' It speaks to its listeners in the USSR in Ukrainian and sixteen other languages of the Soviet Union. The network

broadcasts from stations in Germany, Spain and Formosa."

One is supposed to be an utter simpleton if he does not undersand one obvious truth, namely that Radio Liberty, as pictured by the nationalist newspaper and the president of the American Committee for Liberation, is indisputably a creation of the American espionage-subversive agency, while the label of an independent radio station has been attached to it for a propagandistic effect and for catching nonexacting listeners.

Hundreds of anticommunists, including many nazi collaborationists and war criminals recruited in their time by the CIA, have worked for the Voice of America, Radio Liberty and Free Europe. Let us take, for instance, the archbishop Viorel Trifa, member of the Rumanian fascist Iron Guard, who took a direct part in slaughtering thousands of Rumanian citizens; Vilis Khazners, a murderer from the nazi SS, who killed Byelorussians with his own hands during the temporary occupation of the republic; or Mykola Stepanenko, editor of the profascist newspaper in Mirhorod, Poltava Region, during the war, and then a propagandist with the SS formation *Skorpion-Ost.*

Mykola Stepanenko had an opportunity to work with both the Voice of America and Radio Liberty. He also collaborated with Radio Canada broadcasting for Ukraine, was an instructor at the military intelligence school in Monterey, California, the editor of a number of Ukrainian nationalist newspapers in Europe and America, one of the leaders of certain Ukrainian nationalist organizations and member of the State Center of the Ukrainian National Republic in Exile. Today this former SS-man is allowed to work as a university teacher in Mount Pleasant, Michigan.

As the propagandist of *Skorpion-Ost*, Mykola Stepanenko called on his fellow SS-men to sow the land with enemy bodies and to water it with enemy blood. Today, he tries to instil the same

ideas into his listeners, calling for stepping up military education and mastering the latest military art. Thus, Stepanenko's son Yurko has put the calls of his father-SS-man into reality: during the U.S. interventionist war against Vietnam, he did sow the Vietnamese land with the bodies of women and children, watering it with Vietnamese blood. From the viewpoint of American militarists, Yurko Stepanenko showed himself as a hero and was awarded silver and gold medals for the bloody punitive operations in which he had taken part. Symbolically enough — gold for the blood and ruins. And all this is demagogically presented as the supreme manifestation of serving the common interests of the American people...

For a long time, the Ukrainian-Byelorussian section of Radio Liberty has been headed by the former nazi lackey Mykola Herus, an officer of the American Committee for Liberation who has been exposed as a CIA agent before the whole community of Ukrainian emigrés. Incidentally, his activities as a traitor, nazi collaborationionist and, after the war, his being a CIA and FBI agent are characteristic features in the biographies of many employees from Radio Liberty.

The biography of Leonid Hrihoriv, a long-standing reviewer and commentator of Radio Liberty's Ukrainian department is very much the same. For many years, according to the role assigned to him, Hrihoriv a.k.a. Lyman has been trying to corrupt his listeners and readers in the hope of entrapping them by allegedly objective wordage. Anyone else would have been ground to dust for the seditious statements he made, but not Lyman-Hrihoriv whose sedition is designed for achieving the key purpose: to corrupt the minds of Ukrainians abroad. Lyman was so greatly preoccupied with setting traps and pitfalls that he sometimes talked too much. In the heat of hypocritical intrigues he took up philosophy and literature, history and economy, endeavoring to present himself as

an unerring oracle in each of the fields. Most of the prophecies and commentaries concerning life in America have been immortalized by Lyman in the *Notatnyk* bulletin which he originated in New York for the purpose of "noting down, systematizing and evaluating events".

Before the Radio Liberty microphone Lyman speaks as a diligent propagandist of the American way of life, while on the pages of *Notatnyk* he permits evaluations which may seem much too daring to an ignorant reader. He has criticized both Republican and Democratic parties, U.S. presidents and the policies of different administrations. Here are some of Lyman's statements which he used as baits: "Pre-election platforms of American parties are but a set of empty phrases; these platforms are forgotten immediately after elections are over, they never become programs.

"All these specialists and thinkers operate within the limits of short-sighted practicalness; they envisage what they desire and not what reality will bring them.

"The American ban on trade with communist countries proved to be unreal. America's allies began to trade with the Russians, and the U.S. Government, not to be made a fool of, had to remove the ban."

Proceeding from the similarity of policies pursued by U.S. governments differing in their party affiliation, Lyman wrote the following: "Coming out, by word of mouth, as the defender of the entire free world, the U.S., in effect, makes use of the hardships and misfortunes of other peoples for its own egoistic and politically short-sighted purposes. Its cleverer and independent allies realised this, which caused erosion of the joint front of Western powers."

The trite thesis of the "Soviet threat" repeated in different manners by the Pentagon and the White House has been commented on by Lyman with no less cynicism: "Having driven their

younger brothers into various defense unions like sheep into a sheepfold, the Americans would like to reserve for themselves the right to negotiate with the Russians on behalf of the free world. The Americans tell their allies: fear the Russian bear for it can eat you up. The Americans need a Russian monster to keep their allies near them."

Then Lyman makes a general conclusion: "The most noble, sacred and just struggle of other peoples for their national liberation is subordinated by the United States to the subversive-espionage business. The 'liberation' of Cuba was directed by the American CIA. The CIA directed the struggle against the 'red' in South Vietnam, which was widely covered by the American press... Certain 'committees for liberation' and 'anticommunist' radio stations are simply regular branches of the subversive-espionage centers."

On the basis of the "systematization and estimation of facts" Leonid Lyman stated in his time: "Over the past few years, the American intelligence, the CIA, has turned into another State Department. It will not be an exaggeration to say that the CIA is set above the State Department. The CIA is faultless and irresponsible. Officially, the principal task facing the CIA is to collect necessary information and facts which cannot be obtained in an 'honest' manner. In fact, however, it is different. In the hands of the U.S. Government the CIA is an instrument for interfering in the internal affairs of other peoples. Certain 'successes' have been gained in this respect. Government officers, for instance, have bragged about the fact that coups d'etats were successfully brought about and pro-American governments were implanted in Iran and Guatemala with the assistance of the CIA. That the nationalist, not Communist, Mohammed Mossadegh was overthrown in Iran. That the CIA was also involved in the attempt on De Gaulle's life which, probably, plays a definite role in the anti-American sentiments of the French

President today. However, the CIA burned its fingers in Cuba, South Vietnam and other places. The international subversiveness and irresponsibility of the CIA hinder ideological struggle or even make it impossible, compromise the U.S.A. which, having ignored and lost an honest ideological battle, have neither moral nor political right to be the carrier of law and order in the world."

The above facts may seem to be commonly known though interpreted in a somewhat free manner. Like beads embedded in the mass of the most incredible inventions directed against the progressive, they have been published by Mr. Lyman to draw the attention of foreign readers and then, using a flow of utterly contrary "estimations" and prophesies, to suck them into the bog of conformism and recognition of the infallibility of the American way of life.

Essential changes took place in his statements after he came to work with Radio Liberty. True, it concerned their outward form rather than their essence or ultimate end. And this was not caused by politcal apostasy, for it had happened and acquired irreversible form long before. Lyman simply changed his methods of activity once again. His craftiness proved futile in decoying his victims into provocative meshes, in spite of the fact that he had published quite a few "ticklish" estimations of the U.S. internal and foreign policies on the pages of his *Notatnyk* and other foreign editions. Having discarded the masquerade, Mr. Lyman began to shower praise openly and dashingly on everything American, trying, at the same time, to speculate on the old provocative motif by saying: "I told the truth in the past so everything that escapes my lips now must be accepted as truth as well."

Mr. Lyman is accustomed to changing his masters and tactics, but his essence as that of a wicked creature remains unchanged, a creature

which is prepared to use its venomous sting at any moment, to damage the entire world which did him wrong by not recognizing him the greatest genius, the most unsurpassed and most... most...

After moving to the U.S.A., Lyman worked zealously and vigilantly for the Federal Bureau of Investigation to clear the permission to live in the "blessed country".

The work of a Cain gave him a mean feeling of satisfaction: with the help of the FBI he could square accounts with his competitors and enemies. As to friends, Lyman has never had any.

Back when he lived in the Poltava Region in Ukraine, and later, during the temporary occupation of Soviet Ukraine by the nazis, when he, as a clerk, worked toadying for nazi newspapers, people who knew him personally noted Lyman's complaisance in executing the orders of nazi invaders and his "fish blood" and pathological malice (caused by inferiority complex) towards anything alive and those who happened to be in his way or insulted him by chance with a careless word. He never pardoned them. Half in joke or rather with subconscious fear they recall Leonid Lyman's "passionate friendship" with his countryman of the same age who also found himself in the U.S.A. under the false name of Leonid Poltava.

In 1945, both Leonids laid hands on part of the type from the former Regensburg printshop *Dozvillya* (Leisure). According to Professor Yuri Shevelov, well known in the Ukrainian nationalist world abroad, they did have the type but they could not "legalize" it: it could have been done only for an organization which had a bearing on printing. At Leonids' humble request an "initiative group" was established and later the Ukrainian Art Movement (MUR) which turned into a cover for the "expropriationist" affair staged by the two Leonids. With time the Ukrainian bourgeois nation-

alists endeavored to present the MUR as a Ukrainian writers' society in exile and even oppose it to the Writers' Union of Soviet Ukraine.

All of a sudden, like a bolt from the blue, Poltava was favored with attention and promoted to the rank of a writer, while the "poet" Lyman (yes, a poet, for he did write poems in honor of the Hitlerite invaders) was not even included into the "initiative group". Since then Lyman has been an opponent of the Banderaites and Banderaism in principle because a "friend" of his, Poltava, joined them; and if Lyman takes a dislike to someone, that particular person is in a bad way — he will be eaten up. Behind his back, Lyman is called a "cloth-moth", and not without reason. Lyman thanked Poltava more than once; it was not without his "assistance" that Poltava was refused the vacancy for an editor in the Jersey-City-based newspaper *Svoboda* when the terrorist and war criminal Andriy Luciw, alias Anthony Dragan, was chucked out of its staff.

Like a moth eats wool, Lyman incessantly and consistently ate *Svoboda* itself, lecturing it in his own way: "*Svoboda*'s political dependence and amateurish character is only half the trouble...," he wrote. "We claim with full responsibility that *Svoboda* mostly offers false estimations and interpretations (incompatible with the Ukrainian interests) of political changes and coups d'etat in certain countries which result from the people's struggle for their political and economic independence."

It was but natural that *Svoboda*, which stood in Lyman's way towards the fame of an unerring oracle and political commentator, did not like such a characteristic very much, the more so it could hardly be refuted and, in addition, all the Ukrainians in America positively know that *Svoboda* is dependent and false.

According to Lyman's official estimation "*Svoboda* has all grounds to be considered a nonoffi-

cial organ" of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA). The latter was set up with pretension to represent the Ukrainian emigrés in the U.S.A. but in fact is the pro-Banderaite center controlled by the most reactionary circles and special services of the United States. The principal line of its business is corrupting Ukrainian emigrés.

Lyman knew only too well when he said that in the Banderaite "environment there is no evolvement of any political thought, and a dogmatic and stagnant phrase is the motive power". The pro-Banderaite "leadership of the UCCA," he went on to say, "is just a closed clique whose only interest is that the citizens finance the UCCA activities and fill up manifestation halls."

After getting a scolding for disrespectfully speaking about the leadership of the "representative public center", Lyman repeated once again in his bulletin that indeed "the leaders of the Ukrainian Congress Cimmittee were called a 'closed clique of politically backward persons' " and then explained that "such an impression was formed on the basis of observing for many years the activities of the people who head the UCCA, and also the press which is a spokesman of their views."

Mocking at the bombastic phrases of the UCCA members about human rights and liberation, Lyman put several questions, namely: "Does the UCCA agree that the liberation struggle of other peoples be directed by the American intelligence (CIA) as is the case today? Does the UCCA want the U.S.A. to liberate the Ukrainian people using the methods it resorted to in Cuba and Vietnam?"

It is clear that Lyman did not expect to get any answer to his questions because the UCCA "wants" only that which is ordered by the FBI and CIA. "...There is too much beggary and grovelling in the activities of the UCCA," Lyman

commented in this respect and summarized: "The attitude of this clique towards the Ukrainian people is insincere, dishonest and speculative. And this fact cannot be concealed with well-shaped demagogic phrases."

Speaking of the status of the Ukrainian nationalist emigrés in the U.S.A. in general, Lyman, with time, came to such a conclusion: "We have already pointed out and indicate now that corruption of the worst type emerged in the social life of American Ukrainians. Conditions have been formed under which any real control over the activities of public institutions is impossible. Closed corrupt cliques have set insurmountable barriers around themselves 'giving themselves unlimited power'."

"The irreplaceable Lysohir," Lyman continued, "is simultaniously member of the insurance union, the UCCA and the Shevchenko Memorial Committee (ShMC); Padoch is member of the insurance union, the ShMC and surely of some other organizations. And this is at a time when our society is teeming with truthful and false Masters of Arts, professors, doctors, engineers, when there are so many parties, organizations and their branches which exist for putting in motion and directing social life."

Lyman's habit "to put down notes and systematize", "to observe the activities of people" led him ahead of others to the conclusion about the knavish essence of the public work of the above Lysohir.

Once Joseph Lysohir (alias Lesawyer) was one of the leaders of more than twenty American and emigré institutions, funds and organizations, including the UCCA. But even the grabbers of his type from the nationalist centers lost all patience, and in 1978 Lysohir, as a "swindler, scoundrel and liar" and as the one who "would sell his soul for a few dollars" (quoted from the Canadian Ukrainian journal *My i Svit* /We and

the World/), was fired from "representative" posts and funds.

Leonid Lyman's "denunciations" were stipulated by his wish to square accounts with his enemies, and this when he hates almost the whole world. During his work with Radio Liberty (several times he left the office and then returned) Lyman tripped up Mykola Herus, the chief of the department where he worked, and some other colleagues.

Apart from anything else, the example of Leonid Hryhoriv-Lyman speaks of the fact that Radio Liberty does not care very much about disguising its subversive activities as it puts before its microphones utterly unmasked agents provocateurs and paultry creatures who provoke disgust even in their colleagues, the radio-liars.

A rather long list of such agents provocateurs and official officers of the American espionage service was presented by Oleg Tumanov at the press conference held in Moscow on April 28, 1986. He named facts of which he knew and which bore witness to Radio Liberty's and Free Europe's direct subordination to the CIA. Neither Soviet, nor foreign journalists invited to the press conference had any doubt as to Tumanov's competence or his being well informed. In the course of twenty years he carried out contract work for the espionage-subversive agency of the U.S.A. and was until recently Editor in Chief of the Russian service of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe.

HIRELINGS

Yurko Stepanenko (afore mentioned) along with his father, the former SS-man; the "honored warrior" from the Green Berets, son of the nazi propagandist Mykola Krawciw; as well as hundreds of other alumni of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations, have become ordinary hirelings of mili-

tarized imperialism. Belonging here are also those whose souls have been disfigured by the nationalist profascist education and who visit Ukraine as villains to harm the Soviet Ukrainian people.

Ukrainian nationalists wage an incessant attack upon the youth of Ukrainian descent, putting their education and training on conveyor. A leading place among those engaged in setting nets for children's souls is occupied by the organization called *Plast.* There its members are inculcated with the spirit of obedience and submissiveness, readiness to carry out any order from a superior, regardless of its moral aspect.

Plast is subsequently helped by a network of schools and courses of Ukrainian studies, youth and student organizations, as well as numerous societies, unions and associations conducting corrupt work among grown-ups, directing and controlling the activities of youth emigré organizations.

Actually, the upbringing of children begins within the family (not only in the midst of Ukrainians abroad but in human society in general). So, a young man's behavior in future depends to a large extent on the seeds which his parents have sowed into his soul. If he enters life with the weeds of spite and self-admiration in his heart, it may happen that he won't be able to weed them in the course of his whole life.

Without doubt, the family and the older generation as such are fully responsible for fostering the youth. Therefore, they have to assume joint responsibility for the actions and behavior of the young people.

However, in the modern world the influence of the family is considerably reduced by the mass media which has many faces and penetrates everywhere. The American television, in particular, suppresses the sprouts of the good imparted to a child within the family circle and, on the contrary, cultivates a sense of self-admiration and cruelty,

exalting all which is American — Coca-Cola, chewing gum, supermen, supergirls, and the American way of life itself.

As previously mentioned, *Plast* is a first-priority institution for the nationalist-minded parents' offsprings to enter.

For the sake of appearances, this organization declares its relationship with the international scout movement which marks its 80th anniversary in 1987. Convinced that the Ukrainian public abroad is poorly informed, *Plast* advertises itself as an "educational, nonpolitical, nonsectarian and nonprofit organization". Its leaders try to present it as the successor to the organization of the same name which emerged in Lviv before the First World War. In fact, apart from the name borowed from the Lviv *Plast* one can hardly detect any other common features between the two organizations. One of them is probably the fact that the leadership of the present *Plast* try to imitate their predecessors in getting control over other nationalist organizations and in their attempts to bring up obedient executors of their orders.

Plast alumni patterned between 1911 and 1920 reinforced the ranks of the Austro-Hungarian Ukrainian *Sich* Riflemen. They were assigned to the *sich* guard of the bourgeois-nationalist Central Rada, also to the military units of the counter-revolutionary "armies" of the nationalist Ukrainian People's Republic and Western Ukrainian People's Republic. During WW II, the *Plast* alumni joined the SS Division Halychina and other military and semi-military formations set up by the nazis.

Many years have passed since the end of WW II when *Plast* was established in the U.S.A. It pretentiously claimed that it came out as the "successor of the cause" of the Lviv *Plast* and that it was not formed anew but simply "resumed" its work under new conditions abroad.

Plast's propagandists maintain that this organization's objective is the upbringing of youth in "the spirit of *Plast*" and upholding "*Plast* traditions" among its older members, the so-called "seniors of *Plast*". According to the official declarations of *Plast* ideologists, the obligatory traits of those "brought up in the spirit of *Plast*" must be: "obedience", "accurateness", "loyalty to their government and laws".

Some two months before the SS Division Halychina was sent to the Eastern front, the *Reichsführer SS* Heinrich Himmler spoke to its commanders. He also put forward a few demands which, according to nazi psychology, were to be met by every officer, sub-officer and private of his, Himmler's, division. Having peremptorily claimed that "the well-being of the people is based on orders and obedience", Himmler proceeded to say:

"1. No politics in the division. We are soldiers; our only policy is to fight the enemy...

"2. Another thing I demand of you is order, order in things large and small. Order is the foundation of civilization and culture; states are founded on order...

"3. My third demand is obedience..."

There were other demands as well but the above quotations are enough to demonstrate that the requirements of the contemporary *Plast* leaders repeat almost word for word the demands of *Reichsführer* SS Himmler or, at least, are based on the principles of nazi psychology inculcated in its time in the German people and all sorts of nazi collaborationists. In both cases the pivotal demand is "order-obedience". The likeness of *Plast's* provision about its "indifference to politics" and Himmler's demand for "no politics in the division" cannot but draw one's attention either.

In different conditions indifference to politics of individual persons or the nonpolitical character of certain public organizations can be looked upon

in different manners. But as far as the SS Division Halychina and the *Plast* of the postwar pattern are concerned, the conventional notion of "indifference to politics" can by no means be applied to them. *Reichsführer* SS Himmler made it plain as to what kind of policy he was against or in favor of: "Our only policy is to fight the enemy..." Rather frankly, though in a slightly camouflaged form, the *Plast* ideologists proclaim that their goal is "to adjust the Ukrainian individual so as to make his life useful to the Ukrainian community". There is no doubt that in their interpretation "a useful life" means little more than being useful for the nationalist organizations and their leaders.

The mendacious slogan of *Plast's* "indifference to politics" is utterly refuted by the practical activities of this organization, its direct subordination to "political" organizations and being in the service of various forces hostile to the Ukrainian people. At different stages of its existence in the U.S.A. and other Western countries, *Plast* became subordinate to various nationalist centers and, as a result, turned into an appendage of the Banderaite, Melnikite and other "...ite" organizations.

The *Plast* ideologists' statements about the "nonsectarian" and "nonprofit" character of their organization have not stood the test of time either. No sonner do *Plast's* leaders find themselves in the hands, say, of Banderaites than the whole organization automatically turns into a sectarian organization which recognizes no one other than the Banderaite sect. Then the interests of other nationalist groups, to say nothing of other Ukrainian organizations abroad, are not reckoned with in the least.

In the postwar period, *Plast* members and activists were quite often caught red-handed while carrying out espionage and subversive assignments of foreign special services. Brought up in the spirit of Himmler's demands of unconditional

submission and "obedience to the government", *Plast* seniors, young men and girls, become obedient executors of orders and instructions issued by espionage-subversive services. Deeds of this sort will have to be paid for sooner or later. The most fearful punishment, however, is not arrest or some other legal or administrative measures but lifelong disgrace and contempt of the Ukrainian people, disdain of their present-day fellow citizens.

It is not by chance that the young people of Ukrainian descent living abroad come out more and more actively against the use of *Plast* for antipopular purposes, against *Plast* itself which, using the mask of indifference to politics, carries on work on corrupting Ukrainians abroad and casts slurs upon the homeland of their fathers, grandfathers and forefathers.

In the Ukrainian nationalist community brainwashing, which is carried out on a state scale in capitalist countries, involves a network of schools, courses and the so-called universities of Ukrainian studies which form a most widespread trap for the young people.

The first school for Ukrainian studies was opened in New York in 1949. It got under the control of Banderaites and since then, in the course of ten years of studies, twice a week, its students had been crammed with perverted information about the Ukraine's history, geography and literature, and had been taught to sing nationalist songs. Singing these songs, the schoolchildren were brought to the assemblages marking the days of "independence and unification of Ukraine", to the bellicose "demonstrations of protest" staged by the nationalist groups every now and then. Members of other youth organizations are also taken out into the streets. True, more often than not they are the same persons. Thus, for instance, according to the report of the nationalist newspa-

per *Svoboda*, among the twenty two graduates of the second higher course of Ukrainian studies, twenty were members of *Plast*.

There are other schools of Ukrainian studies in New York. One of them was set up in 1958 on the initiative of Hrihoriy Tsebriy, the head of the New York section of the Banderaite Ukrainian Youth Association of America (SUMA). Before he headed the section, he had worked as an "educator" at the SUMA youngster sub-section called "Forest Partisans". It is possible that the name was invented by Tsebriy himself who used the word to conceal his brutal activities during WW II.

With a group of criminals like himself, Tsebriy shed the blood of innocent people even before Hitlerite Germany attacked the Soviet Union. Panteleimon Humenny, the former poor peasant from the village of Krasne, Zboriv District, Ternopil Region, was one of the first to become their victim. Tsebriy and his accomplices met the nazis with flags, a report on their bloody deeds and assurances that they were ready to serve the cause of the "new order". Acting in the name of the "*Führer* of great Germany", the nazi myrmidons, who called themselves the "*sich* of the independent", murdered and tortured their recalcitrant fellow villagers. The collection of articles *The People Damn Them* published in Kiev in 1963 presents facts which bear witness to Hrihoriy Tsebriy's direct participation in murdering inhabitants of the village of Krasne in July 1941: Petro Lysiy, Hnat Ivanyuk, Stefan Pereima, Ilko Doskoch and Andriy Humenny. It was the first month of the dreadful nazi occupation and the bloody violence of nazi hirelings from the "independent" gang under Hrihoriy Tsebriy.

One can imagine what this "educator" taught his "forest partisans", what he tried to instill into the young boys and girls at the school of Ukrainian studies. With time, Tsebriy was promoted

and until recently was the head of a reference office of the SUMA regional board.

The highest place in the network of institutions of Ukrainian studies is occupied by the so-called higher school courses or universities of Ukrainian studies. What they are in reality can be illustrated by the New York University of Ukrainian Studies otherwise known as the Ukrainian People's University.

It was founded in 1953 by the main boards of the Banderaite Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine and the above SUMA, Ukrainian Youth Association of America, which in itself gives one an idea of the character of this institution. Without further ado, the founders of the university made it compulsory for all the members of these organizations to enter the university and attend its Saturday "classes".

As compared with the schools of Ukrainian studies, the curriculum at the university is supplemented with lectures and seminars on the "economy and the state and legal system of Ukraine" as well as on archaeology. The curriculum also includes lectures and reports on the subjects of the principal propaganda campaigns which are annually proclaimed by the nationalist centers. Most frequently these lectures are delivered by local or guest nationalist leaders, "writers" or "dissidents", each of them trying to outstrip other "specialists in Ukrainian studies" in falsifying the history and contemporary life of the Soviet people and brainwashing the youth of Ukrainian descent.

As a matter of fact, time has proved that the influence of the Ukrainian studies is rather limited. Despite this fact, disappointing as it is for the nationalist leaders, they continue to draw a picture of their successes. As a rule, they exemplify them with the establishment of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute under Harvard University which, according to them, put the Ukrainian studies on a higher organizational level.

The idea of the institute's foundation as well as its name were not original: shortly after the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, similar Ukrainian scientific institutes were founded in Berlin and Warsaw. The main duty of the institutes, as defined by the enemies of revolutionary socialist transformations, was to study the Soviet Union's economic and military potential, to collect other espionage information and prepare acts of ideological subversion against the USSR. The "scientific"-espionage activities of such institutions clearly revealed themselves in the activities of numerous institutes for studying the USSR, institutes for Soviet and Eastern-European investigations and Russian research centers which were founded after WW II on the initiative and money of imperialist intelligence services.

Among those who had a hand in the foundation of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute under Harvard University were such enemies of the socialist countries as Zbigniew Brzezinski, the former chief advisor on national security of the U.S. President Jimmy Carter, and Richard Burd-Pipes, a countryman of his, an officer of the same National Security Council, and later Ronald Reagan's advisor, a Sovietologist and an intelligence specilaist, a White House consultant and an inveterate propagandist of nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union. In his time, Hodling Carter, representative of the State Department on relations with the press, aptly characterized Mr. Brzezinski in the *Washington Post* as a cock rat-catcher and a second-rate thinker in the sphere teeming with poseurs and office-seekers likened with cockroaches.

Mr. Pipes' scientific creations are mostly falsifications and provocative recommendations to bomb all the countries not to Washington's liking into the Stone Age. He has a firmly established "fame" of an anti-intellectual and professional ignoramus.

Directed by such odious theorists and practitioners of anti-Soviet and antisocialist activities, the Ukrainian studies could not but degenerate into a means of psychological treatment of the local young people of Ukrainian descent and into an instrument of training them for disgraceful activities directed against the homeland of their ancestors, Ukraine; disastrous activities doomed to complete failure.

Along with the network of institutions for the Ukrainian studies, there is also a ramified system of youth and student organizations which are involved in brainwashing the youth and using them for the dirtiest and most shameful acts. These organizations in their turn were and continue to be among the first on the list of objects for psychological treatment by the OUN and other nationalist organizations, groups and groupings.

After the anti-Soviet orgy staged by the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill in the American city of Fulton in 1946, there sprang up a great variety of nationalist freakish organizations in different capitalist countries and the invention of names for them became a tedious business.

"Midwives" from special services and "godparents' from nationalist organizations abroad would like these names to be big ones of world-wide significance and scope. Precisely for this reason a quarrel, which, incidentally, has not calmed down even today, broke out about the name of the newly-formed organization known presently as the Ukrainian Youth Association. The nationalists from the Association of Ukrainian Catholics wanted to give it their own name, women from the Ukrainian Women's Alliance of Canada insisted on their own, other nationalist groups, punier than the two above, proposed their own versions. However, the final say rested with the "elders" with many years' experience of serv-

ing reactionary forces and fighting progressive movements both in Europe and America.

Their first wish was (and remains today if only a few of them are still alive) to show that they did (and do) mean something to the emigré community, to prove that the new wave of the Cold War is a natural continuation of such waves in the past. So they dug into the past and dragged out the name — Ukrainian Youth Association (Ukrainian abbreviation SUM). In doing so they tried to produce an impression that the new organization originated from the SUM of the 1920s, an anti-Soviet organization formed in Ukraine under the Association for Liberation of Ukraine (SVU) to conduct corrupt anti-Soviet work among the youth.

According to the documents of the trial of the association's leaders, their activities were directed at the restoration of the capitalist system in Ukraine and putting it under the rule of foreign states. The inspirers of the foundation of the "renovated" association did not worry that the SVU and SUM of the 1920s were marked with a brand of traitors. Neither were they disturbed by criticism from the right to the effect that by giving the newly-formed organization the name of SUM they thereby foretold its decadent character and doom (Ukrainian word *сум* means *sadness, sorrow*). In response, the adherents of the stolen name say, and not without grounds, that certain Ukrainian nationalist organizations bear even clumsier names, for instance SUKi, BUKi, PAUKi, calling forth no less undesirable associations when pronounced in Ukrainian (SUKi — *bitches*, BUKi — *sticks*, PAUKi — *spiders*).

However, be that as it may, having brought the SUM into the world in 1946, its founders set about drilling its members, burning out everything human in their souls, teaching them the art of treachery and provocations, and preparing the recruits for American and other moneyed bosses

to be used in the struggle against their ancestors' homeland or against anyone they would be set on.

Judging from the persons who are appointed to educate SUM members, one can almost unerringly tell what and how they are taught.

Hrihoriy Tsebriy, the abovementioned educator from the Ukrainian Youth Association of America, is a refined sadist whose hands are stained with the blood of numerous victims.

The title of educator of the 3rd class in the SUM was awarded to the professional traitor Yevhen Pobihushchy who uses the pseudonym of "Ran". He betrayed the Ukrainian people and his homeland when he joined the counterrevolutionary Ukrainian Galician Army in 1918. Then he served as an officer in the Polish Army, and in 1939, the most hazardous period in Poland's history, betrayed it by deserting to the Hitlerites. Later he was one of the commanders of the *Abwehr* subversive battalion Roland, and the commander of *Schutzmannschaftbattalion* 201 subordinated to the SS and active in the territory of temporarily occupied Byelorussia. Pobihushchy's pseudonym was not chosen by chance: both his original Ukrainian name and the English *Ran* derive from the same root *run* which implies that he is constantly trying to run away but, we might add, will never manage to run away from the crimes he committed.

In 1943, the SS command transferred Pobihushchy to the newly-formed SS Halychina Division. There, SS *Obersturmbanführer* Pobihushchy-Ran, the regiment commander, showed himself as a real SS-man, ruthless towards the civilian population refractory to the nazis and towards the SS-men subordinated to him, whom he tried to make into callous robots the murderers. After the war, Pobihushchy worked as a teacher at a school for spies and wireless operators in West Germany, currying favor with British and West German

intelligence services until he deserted to the Americans in 1954.

Mykola Stepanenko, the former SS-man from *Skorpion-Ost*, the organ of the nazi military propaganda, and after the war instructor at the American espionage school in Monterey, is also among the "honored educators" of the present-day recruits. His name was frequently mentioned in Ukrainian nationalist periodicals abroad in connection with the high awards of his son Yurko who, following the path of his father the murderer, especially distinguished himself during the predatory war of the U.S. against the people of Vietnam which, in fact, was an action of genocide.

Another educator and one of the local leaders of Ukrainian nationalist organizations, Anatoliy Zhukovsky, lives in faraway Australia. He calls himself a major, though never had this rank. At the same time he tries to thoroughly hide under what circumstances he got his military ranks and what he is in reality.

First of all, his real name is Kabaida and he was *Hauptmann*, chief of staff of the Ukrainian guard police in Kiev during the city's temporary occupation by the nazi troops in 1941—1943.

The criminal activities of Kabaida-Zhukovsky in the nazi-occupied Ukraine have been exposed in the numerous documents and eye-witness accounts. He committed atrocities not only in the city itself. His orders testify to the fact that he sent subordinate policemen from one punitive operation to another all across the Kiev Region.

Among the orders which Kabaida signed with his own hand, there are verbose ones where each word speaks of their author's flaunting the power he was invested with. But most of the orders were brief like the whistle of a policeman's whip or the report of a carbine.

To mark the first anniversary of the mass massacre of Soviet POWs and Kievans in Baby Yar, Kabaida issued order No. 52 for his staff on Sep-

tember 27, 1942. It was very short and read as follows: "Lately it has been observed that Jews make their appearance. They must be arrested and transferred immediately to SD." It is common knowledge that the Nuremberg International Trials recognized the SD, the SS security service, as a criminal organization. The list of its victims in Germany itself and the countries temporarily occupied by the nazis run into millions. So, the Jews who were transferred to the SD by Kabaida's order were already doomed to death.

In two weeks after order No. 52 was signed, Kabaida signed a "special order" by which he informed the residents of Kiev that in compliance with the direction of the *Stadtcommissar* "all women aged 16 to 45... are obliged to report for being sent to Germany to work." In separate orders for the staff of the guard police, Kabaida described in detail what policemen were supposed to do in different situations, stressing that the *Stadtcommissar's* directions as well as his own instructions were to be carried out completely, that "all the work has to be fulfilled in full volume".

Such is the real background of this "educator of the young", the OUNite Zhukovsky-Kabaida. This is why he carefully conceals who he is, where he comes from and what he did during WW II when Ukrainians along with other freedom-loving peoples waged the sacred war against fascism.

In 1978 the main board of the Ukrainian Youth Association was moved from Europe to the U.S.A., i. e. nearer to the chief managers of its anti-Soviet activity. Buildings and out-of-town camps were placed at the association's disposal where young men are poisoned with the fascist-nationalist postulates, where they are taught to hate socialist countries, to murder, to build secret bunkers so that they could take the path of the nazi *Abwehr* alumni from the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

The Ukrainian Youth Association also specializes in staging provocations against participants in international forums which are held abroad. Having become a skilled hand at subversive actions during the Olympic Games in Munich and Montreal, the SUMites prepared themselves for new provocations in Los Angeles where the so-called world rally of the Ukrainian Youth Association was held during the 23rd Olympic Games. However, they were left with nothing to do, for the sports delegations of the USSR and many other countries from four continents were unable to take part in the Olympics.

Somewhat earlier, late in 1983, the "world congress" of the SUM was held in the Canadian city of Toronto. As a result, representatives from the U.S.A. were placed at the head of the SUM in most cases. The names of non-Americans who found their way to the leadership were not new ones and had been repeatedly mentioned in the materials on the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency of the U.S.A., the British Secret Intelligence Service and the West German *Bundesnachrichtendienst.*

At the "congress" Omelyan Koval of Belgium who had headed the SUM for many years was elected the head of one of the leading organs of the SUM, the so-called Central Educational Council. His name is well known in the criminal world. He personally sent to the Soviet Union one of his alumni, the head of the SUM regional board in Belgium, Yaroslav Dobosh, who failed at an attempt to carry out a spy assignment and was turned out of the USSR.

Yaroslav Dobosh gave this "central educator" an exhaustive testimonial. When he began to talk after the failure of his espionage mission in Ukraine in 1972, Dobosh said, in particular, that Koval "inculcates into the young the idea of creating a bourgeois Ukraine... Koval himself organizes various anti-Soviet actions in the West. For instance,"

Dobosh continued, "in the spring of 1971, when the decade of the culture of the Ukrainian SSR was held in Liège, Koval personally organized actions for the purpose of frustrating this decade. In summer 1971, I know it from him personally, Koval sent a resident of England, Bohdan Levitsky, to the Soviet Union with the same assignment as I had during my trip to the Ukraine."

Later, the name of Koval was mentioned more than once in connection with his other alumni's failures. This fact did not prevent the bosses from foreign intelligence services to place Koval at the head of the Units Abroad of the OUN, to fill the vacancy after Yaroslav Stetsko's death.

The French printer of the 16th century, Henri II Estienne, in his *Les Prémices,* with a shade of bitterness said the following, which later became a catchphrase: "If youth knew; if age could."

If only youth knew! Regrettably, knowledge, the comprehension of life, and experience come much too late sometimes, when one has already done foolish things or even committed irreparable mistakes. And it is onto this path of mistakes and crimes that the SUM pushes its members. Nevertheless, we would like to believe that despite their lack of experience in life, the young people today will display vigilance and make the right conclusion, choosing the only correct way of development and perfection of our common home and peaceful life on Earth.

A separate place in the network of the nationalist "scientific-educational" institutions abroad is occupied by the *Ukrainische Freie Universität* (UVU) in Munich, which is directly responsible for the educational process at the higher school courses of Ukrainian studies.

The UVU was set up in 1946. In fact, it is an establishment which, under the mask of a university, serves the purpose of educating students in the nationalist-neofascist spirit, distributing di-

plomas and scientific degrees to refined nationalists. It is also supposed to play the most active part in "scientifically substantiating" the variety of campaigns directed against socialist countries and, specifically, against the Soviet Union.

The UVU can be termed independent with a great measure of caution, at least because it had been fully appropriated by the Banderaites from the Units Abroad of the OUN, and because until 1986 its rector was one of the leaders of the Units Abroad, Volodimir Yaniv. The former nazi collaborationist who had been personally involved in torturing and the criminal investigations of the prisoners of concentration camps, Yaniv was also placed at the head of the Ukrainian Christian Movement. Under the cover of this clerical-nationalist organization, he propagates the ideas of militant interventionism which is part and parcel of the foreign policy course followed by American militarism. "Our days," Yaniv maintains in a provocative manner, "demand mantles with crosses on them, and crusades."

At different times among the instructors of the *Ukrainische Freie Universität* were Mykola Stepanenko, the aforementioned SS-man from *Skorpion-Ost*; Volodymyr Kubijowitsch, "volunteer No. 1" of the SS Division Halychina, the former head of the so-called Ukrainian Central Committee set up by the nazis in Kraków; Ivan Hrinyokh, chaplain of the *Abwehr* subversive battalion *Nachtigall*; Hrihory Vaskovych, a prominent "security service functioner" of the Units Abroad of the OUN.

Testimonials of these, as well as other "professors" would have been incomplete without the following addition: each of them is an agent of American, French, British or West German intelligence services. Incidentally, any action or slanderous campaign in which the *Freie Universität* takes part is stipulated by the interference of foreign secret services in the internal affairs of other countries.

The UVU, for instance, took an active part in considering various aspects of cooperation with Polish nationalist groups abroad; joined in a number of "Polish-Ukrainian scientific conferences" which were to become additional links in the efforts to unite nationalist groups of different nationalities on the common antisocialist and anti-Soviet basis.

Over the last few years the UVU and its rector Volodimir Yaniv have been engaged in preparing falsifications and slanders against the Soviet Union in connection with the thousandth anniversary of the introduction of christianity in Kievan Rus. In this particular case "professor" Yaniv has resorted to garbling as well. He tries to present the history of Kievan Rus, a common cradle of the Russian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian peoples, as the history of the Ukrainian people alone. Such a conception, without doubt, reveals the nationalist antiscientific position of the rector and other instructors of the *Freie Universität.*

Subordinate to Western secret services and using a pseudoscientific mask as a cover, the Banderaite *Ukrainische Freie Universität*, thereby, occupies the place assigned to it in the widespread network of foreign subversive organizations and makes efforts to be "in the vanguard" of antisocialist and anti-Soviet campaigns.

In the United States of America, Canada, France, West Germany and other countries with Ukrainian settlements there have been set up and function or drag out a miserable existence many other pseudoscientific academies, institutes and scientific societies. But even more there are outspoken depoliticized "parties" and "organizations" there which are involved in corrupting local Ukrainians. Their actions, in the end, are meant to undermine people's power in Ukraine and other Soviet republics united into a single multinational state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Whatever Ukrainian nationalists may propagate, and whatever tactics they may adhere to at different times, their actions are inseparably linked with the foreign policy of imperialist countries, and they themselves act as lackeys of antisocialist reaction, executors of its will and orders.

The breed of nationalist lackeys is multiform and heterogeneous; its various groups are at variance with each other and the only thing which unites them is their subversive nature and obedience to the employing special services of imperialist states. This is testified by the activities of separate "societies", "associations" and "parties" as well as of various unifying bodies which assume the names of "congresses", "committees", "councils" and the like.

Many "leading organs" have already been set up but nationalists keep on bluffing, inventing "state", "executive" and "coordinating" centers and organs, consultative commissions, etc. But all in vain — unity or at least coordination do not become more attainable. Sometimes several organizations come out jointly in transient or, sometimes, lasting campaigns — anyway, the grub has to be worked off and instructions received from the employers fulfilled. Thus, in the "external arena" nationalist groups demonstrate some common desire to harm the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. But the "interparty" discord and competition for the right to be the first, chief lackey, thrive in the "internal arena".

Both nationalists and their bosses are aware that internal strife tears apart the nationalist community and distracts strength and energy needed for surviving in the capitalist world. Attempts have been made more than once to unite nationalist organizations at variance with each other, to form more or less a consolidated force which could be used with greater efficiency and less expenditures for the key purpose — the struggle against

the Soviet Union or any other country which imperialist states encroach upon at a given moment.

Incidentally, the setting up of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in 1929 was due to the unification of a number of the most extreme right-wing nationalist organizations. Following the example of special subversive services established in nazi Germany shortly before, the nationalists tried to concentrate the leadership over nationalist organizations in one hand, one center.

Thus, in 1934, the Temporary Initiative Committee was formed in Lviv to include representatives of parties and organizations which called themselves Ukrainian. It was headed by the Petluraite Victor Prychodko, who had been Minister of Justice in the counterrevolutionary "government" of *Directoria* and later, as an emigré, Deputy Minister of Finance in the so-called "government" in exile.

Lubomir Makarushka, a confidential agent of the newly-established nazi regime in Germany, was appointed the secretary of the committee. Makarushka remained loyal to the Hitlerite leadership up to the very end of the Third Reich carrying out their assignments to corrupt the Ukrainian community. In 1943, for instance, he was made chief of the Military Board officer personnel department of the SS Division Halychina and until the very end of war stayed in the division in the rank of *sotnik* (the SS rank of *Hauptsturmführer*).

However, the loyalty alone of Prychodko, Makarushka and other leaders of the initiative committee to fascism was not enough to unite these inveterate separatists and "independents" into one pack. Each of them was eager to get from the nazis or the Polish military-fascist dictatorship the exclusive right to head the leadership of the nationalist emigré community.

Meanwhile, an attempt was made to form an organization of sorts along the lines of a "joint

front" of nationalist organizations. Thus, the Front of National Unity emerged in 1936. Very soon, however, it became clear that the front was an ordinary mini-copy of the German National-Socialist Party and, in addition, outside the name itself there was no front, nor was there unity in it. Instead of a single center which was supposed to lead various nationalist organizations there appeared yet another rank-and-file fascist-nationalist emigré organization.

The attempt to consolidate nationalist groups proved a failure. The *Hetmanites*-monarchists, the "independent" from the OUN, and the authoritarians from the Front of National Unity were the first to stage a riot. They refused to take part in the planned All-Ukrainian National Congress fearing that in the All-Ukrainian Congress Committee which was to be set up they would have to share power with other pretenders to high posts or, for all that matter, would even find themselves under other nationalist groups.

The special services of nazi Germany suffered a major setback at a place where everything seemed to have been subordinated to their will and whims. They decided to put the zealous and adventurist Stepan Bandera at the head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists but instead of its consolidation which they counted on, it split into Melnikites, supporters of the former head of the Leadership of Ukrainian Nationalists Andriy Melnik, and Banderaites, adherents of the pretender to the key post in the OUN Stepan Bandera.

Nevertheless, the "unification" of Ukrainian nationalist organizations did take place... on the pages of nationalist newspapers. On June 22, 1941, that is on the day the nazi troops attacked the Soviet Union, an announcement appeared that a congress was allegedly convened for the purpose of "eliminating intestine dissension and uniting Ukrainian emigrés" and the Ukrainian National Committee was established. However, this

proved to be little more than just a propaganda invention, Goebels-style, which failed to entice even nationalist organizations. And, besides, one could hardly believe that a "unifying congress" of emigré nationalist organizations could have been convened and held within one Sunday. The name of a congress was actually given to a farcical assemblage of nazi collaborationists mostly subordinated to the war criminal Hans Frank, the ruler of the *Generalgouvernement* founded by the nazis on the territory of occupied Poland. The Ukrainian National Committee proclaimed at the "congress" remained on paper and did not produce any impact on the activities of nationalist organizations.

Another Ukrainian National Committee was proclaimed shortly before the final defeat of Hitler's Germany, but it could not be of any use to the doomed Third Reich. One of the most inveterate nazi collaborationists, Volodymyr Kubijowitsch, wrote in this connection the following: "Fifty-six days before Germany's capitulation, when the newly-formed Ukrainian National Committe addressed the Ukrainian community in Germany with a separate declaration of March 17, 1945, it was already unable to play a role of importance because the German Armed Forces, attacked from the east and the west, were in a state of evident disarray... After the capitulation of Germany this Ukrainian National Committee ceased its existence..." (*Samostiyna Ukraina,* [Independent Ukraine], No. 7, 1962).

In spite of the fact that there are many "coordinative", "all-Ukrainian" and "world" organizations, the nationalist organizations, in fact, have not been unified up to this day. The initial reason lies with the constant competition between special services of various capitalist countries. But as certain Ukrainian nationalist organizations abroad are within the sphere of influence of one or another of these services, they objectively cannot

venture any fundamental or, at least, a long-standing union.

There is one more valid reason which makes such a union impossible or unreal. Almost twenty years after the end of WW II, having failed to bear the burden of "consolidation", Mykola Livitsky, the former agent of the nazi *Abwehr*, "President of the Ukrainian People's Republic in Exile" based in Munich, asked in despair: "Why has a union of free Ukrainians, as a permanently functioning organization, not been established up to this day?..." In response to his own question the "president" explained it in plain language: "Because all the Ukrainian political groups fear that they will not be influential enough in such an establishment, and what is more, that it may support someone else from the midst of their political enemies." Livitsky also said that "with time, the number of Ukrainians in exile grows fewer and fewer," that "the voice of the so-called Ukrainians in exile alone is not sufficient," that they would not do anything without support from certain forces in the West.

Nationalists had to wait more than one decade until a new initiative came from the top and a congress was convened, the one which the nazi special services had failed to convene. This time it was not called the "all-Ukrainian" congress but the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (SKVU), and the venture itself, dictated by impotent spite, had been designed to contrapose the great holiday of the Soviet people — the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution — being celebrated at that time.

The spectacle of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians was staged in New York in November 1967. Its sponsors from the Johnson Administration did not grudge money to bring together "delegates" and guests from almost twenty countries. Those speaking at the "congress' shouted themselves hoarse of the necessity "to coordinate

the activities of emigrés" and "to preserve the development of the national substance" but, above all, they squabbled between themselves. Representatives of the OUN faction which adds to its name "abroad", Mykola Lebed, Myroslav Prokop and other detractors of the Bandera line, ignored the sessions of the "world congress" and shunned any discussion so as not to run into a bullet or a knife from an OUN security service cutthroat. The more so that the sentence of death for "the betrayal of the cause" was passed on them back under Bandera's rule.

After the "congress" completed its work, the unity of nationalist organizations and the setting up of a "world association" became even more inaccessible than before. As to the leaders, the nationalists were unlucky with them. The competitors got agitated so much that they could not do without a priest. And so it happened that Vasil Kushnir of Winnipeg, a Uniate priest, became the first President of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (SKVU).

The SKVU could not and has not become a "unifying" congress. Its "power" does not in the least effect the main aspects of the activities of nationalist organizations. They did claim they had joined the "congress" but preserved the right for themselves to independent contacts with their direct bosses from special services. In this particular case the "world congress" was just a mere assemblage which brought together "free Ukrainians" for empty talk and a banquet.

The fact that certain circles give financial support to the SKVU in its anti-Soviet subversive activities calls forth a fierce struggle between various nationalist groups for the leading posts in the SKVU and for its subordination to their "political" interests. Yaroslav Stetsko, for instance, who failed, after all, to make the SKVU into an adjunct of the OUN which he headed, wrote about the SKVU as follows: "... this is a center

of public rather than political organizations" and demanded that his accomplices give him a written "mandate" and power with the help of which he would be able either to override the SKVU or to compromise it.

Before the last "convocation" of the SKVU, Stetsko threatened that the SKVU might become a dangerous organization for nationalists if it was not subordinated to such "an experienced political figure" as himself. At the same time, he did not conceal his negative attitude towards the SKVU and this is proved by the documents which are not an "organizational secret" anymore and have become known both in the Soviet Union and abroad. Stetsko wrote about the SKVU: "This is a Trojan Horse within the Ukrainian community which has headed the entire opportunist camp." The leader of the Units Abroad of the OUN, Stetsko, also recognized: "So far our battle over the SKVU is lost" because it "takes up concepts which are dangerous to the Ukrainian community in the free world and hostile to our organization." Incidentally, this was the main reason for Stetsko's negative attitude towards the World Congress of Free Ukrainians. If only the congress had been on his side, his attitude to this organization would have been different. And in the meantime Stetsko threatened that he would raise the question of expulsion from the SKVU of those organizations which would not voluntarily let him have power in the "world congress".

To a certain extent this example is also characteristic of the position of other foreign nationalist groups which strive for seizing the highest and most profitable posts in the "centers" receiving financial grants.

The adherents of the consolidation of nationalist organizations are fond of repeating the hackneyed thesis about the permanence of aspirations for the unity of the "national forces" in the struggle against the "common enemy". In its time this

"permanence of aspirations" was colorfully described by the member of the OUN Melnikite leadership, Colonel Roman Sushko, who put forward a sacramental and categorical proposition: "It is necessary to massacre all Stetskos, Banderas, Lebeds and some inferiors, and then consolidation may be discussed." This statement should be known to the Banderaite pretenders to the SKVU leadership, for it has been quoted from the so-called Banderaite social-political report dated November 1943, from the nazi-occupied Lviv. It should also be remembered that Sushko's proposal on consolidation was, in essence, a counterattack, a response to the actions of the Banderaites. The same "social-political report" said in this respect: "In general the Melnikites, and not only they, carried on propaganda against Lebed and Shukhevich because the Ukrainian intelligentsia have been annihilated and life destroyed in Volhynia, and because Shukhevich wants to do the same in Galicia."

Little has changed since that time. The OUNites do not resort to the open extermination of enemies anymore, but the internecine dissension kindles into a flame and the organic incompatibility between individual factions becomes more and more obvious. The adherents of their consolidation try to make a monolith from these factions, to unify anti-Soviet groups, while each of them dreams day and night of unlimited power and a place nearest a bag stuffed with U.S. dollars or any other dirty money.

AFTERWORD

Late in May, 1986, an event took place which is very reminiscent of the situation described at the beginning of this book.

The head of the White House resorted to forceful methods in respect to thirty four countries, coau-

thors of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. By forbidding the U.S. representative at the Bern conference to sign the final document approved by the rest of the participants, signatories of the Helsinki Accords, Ronald Reagan, thereby, delivered a treacherous blow upon the aspirations of the Europeans for détente and cooperation.

However, the European countries, participants in the Helsinki Conference, did not express a wish to follow Shevchenko's characters, nor did they succumb to the White House dictate, so the U.S. delegation soon found itself in complete isolation.

Immediately after the Bern incident, the President of the United States attacked one of the most important documents of our nuclear epoch — the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty of 1979 between the USSR and the U.S.A. Thus, once again the American side demonstrated its irresponsible attitude to international legal commitments, to its partners and the age-long aspirations of the peoples to solve disputable problems by peaceful negotiations rather than confrontation.

Ukrainian nationalists abroad have long been yelling of the necessity for the U.S.A. to remove its signature from the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords, thereby leaving the militarists free to use nuclear weapons. So it follows that the American subversive services once again push the lackeys they bought firsthand or secondhand into the foreground to speak out for them about that which they dream of because, for the time being, they do not dare to speak of it openly.

Lately we have witnessed new facts of criminal links between the reactionary circles in capitalist countries and their lackeys, executors of various sorts, ranging from instigators, coordinators and contractors to hirelings from the midst of nationalist small fry.

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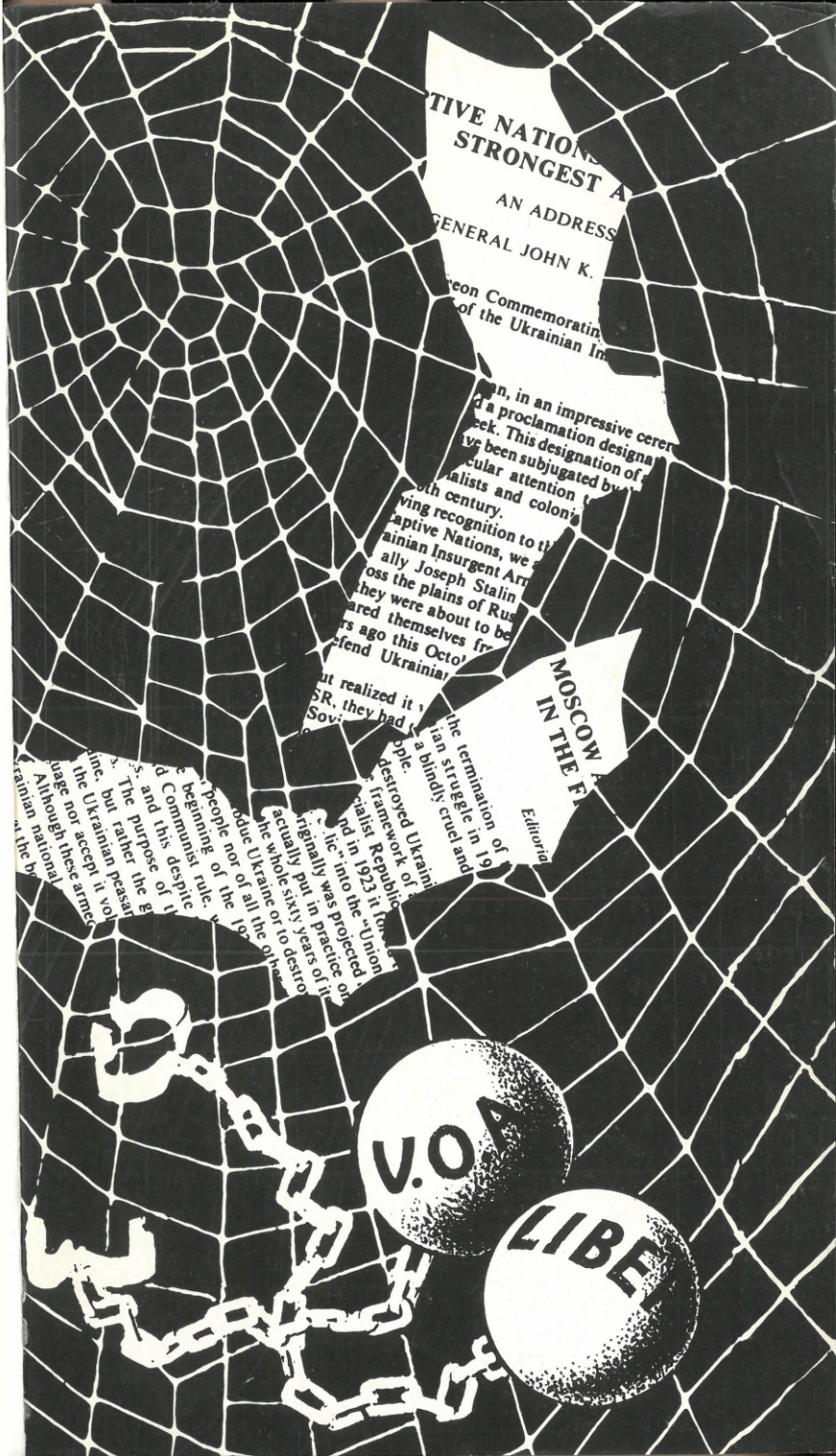
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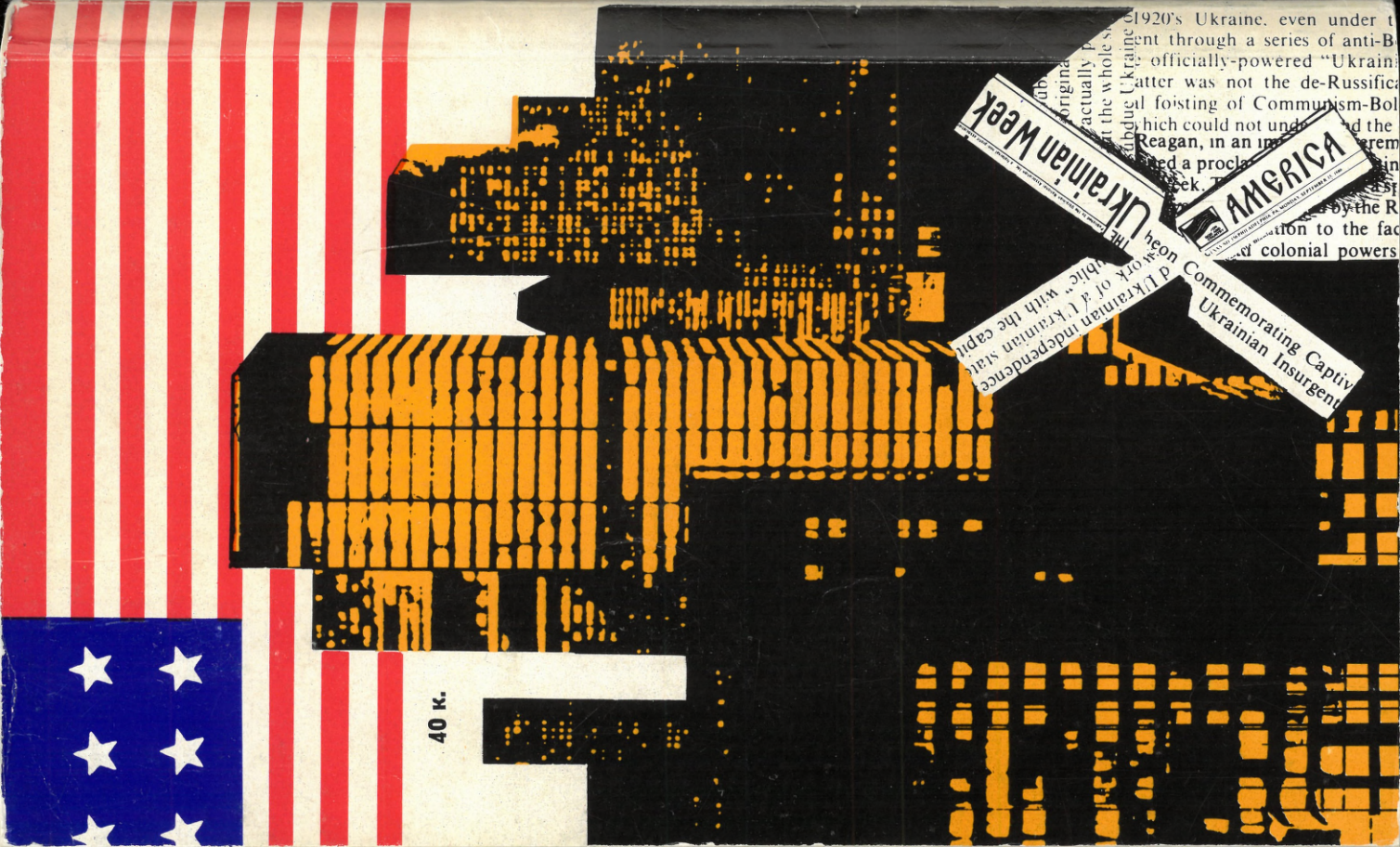
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